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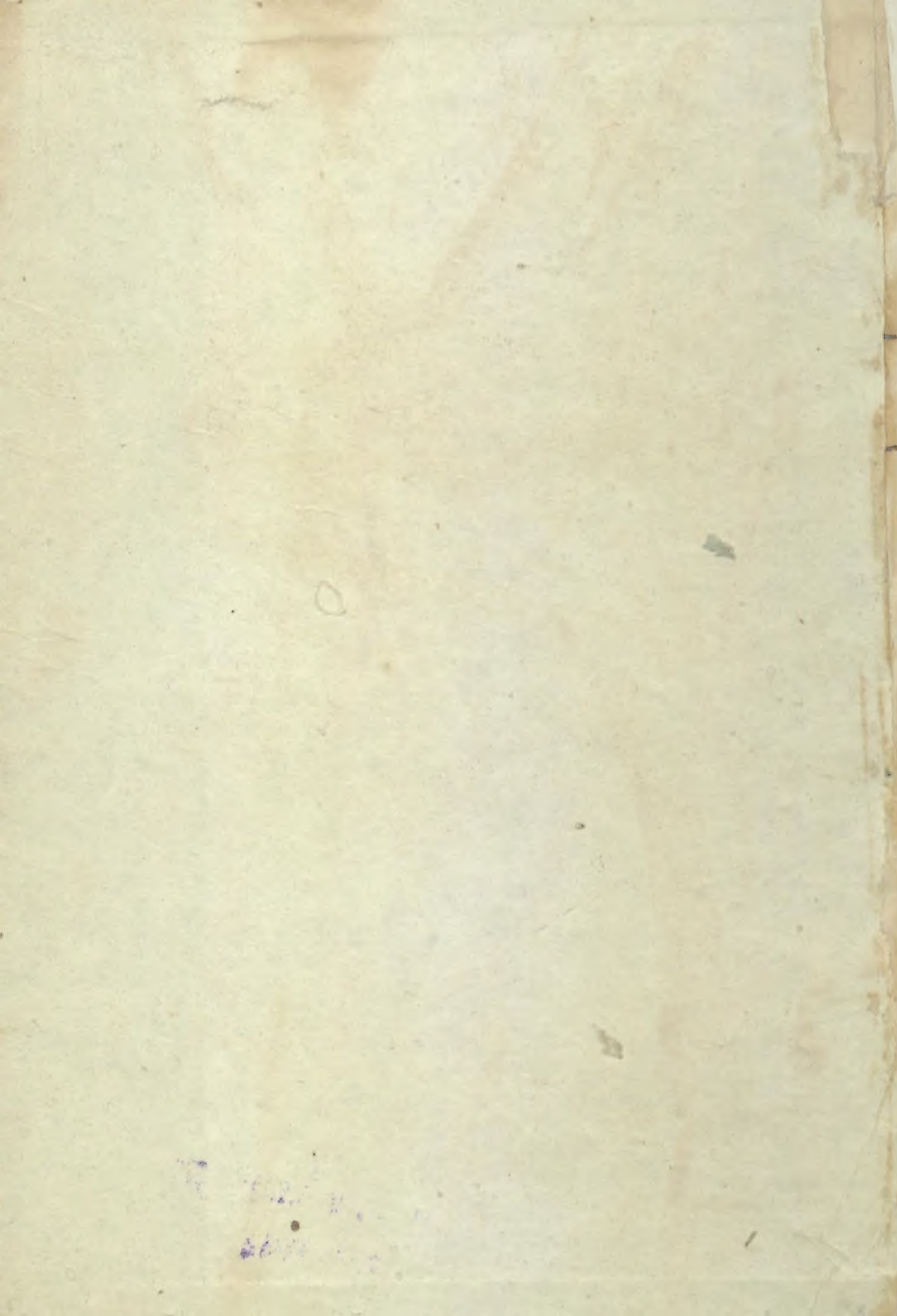
Mahadji Sindia.

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Mahadji Sindia.

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MAHADJI SINDIA

BY

MUKUND WAMANRAO BURWAY, Esq., B. A.,
SECRETARY. SPECIAL BRANCH, FOREIGN OFFICE,
INDORE STATE.

AUTHOR OF

"GLIMPSES of the BHAGWATGITA
and the

VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY."

"The MARATHAS and the MOGHALS."

"LIFE of DEVI AHILYA BAI HOLKAR

"RANOJI RAO SINDIA,"

"RAO RAJA SIR DINKAR RAO," etc.

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श्री. न. न. द. भा. पोतवार,
पंथ पंथ

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Lt.-General, Sir Madhav Rao Sindia, Alijah Bahadur, G. C. S. I,
G. C. V. O., A. D. C., etc,

DEDICATED

TO

HIS HIGHNESS

MAHARAJA MADHAV RAO SINDIA,

Alijah Bahadur,

G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D.,

etc., etc., etc.,

RULER OF THE GWALIOR DOMINIONS,

AS A

TOKEN OF ESTEEM, ADMIRATION

AND

GRATITUDE

BY THE AUTHOR,

M. W. BURWAY.

DEDICATED

to

THE BRITISH

MAHARAJA MADHAY RAO SINDIA

Aligarh, India

1903, 1904, 1905

1906, 1907, 1908

1909, 1910, 1911

1912

1913, 1914, 1915

1916

1917

1918, 1919

BY THE AUTHOR

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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WAMAN RAO TATYA BURWAY. (to face page 12 of the Preface)
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PREFACE.

I have great pleasure in presenting the third Volume of the "Indian Historical" Series to the public. The object of this "Series" is already briefly mentioned in the Preface to "Ranoji Rao Sindia." That the "Madhav Rao Sindia" of Mr. H. G. Keene, M.A., L.C.S., C.I.E., is not a true likeness of the great Maratha soldier and statesman will be evident from a perusal of the present work and I feel confident that my readers would do me the justice of frankly admitting that Mr. H. G. Keene has relied more on his Mohammedan authorities than it was justifiable to do under the circumstances of the case.¹ At all events Mr. Keene has, more or

(1) I take this opportunity of expressing my feelings of gratitude to all the learned scholars and the Princes, who have so generously appreciated my humble labours in the field of Maratha History. Heavy official work, weak constitution, and occasional adverse freaks of fortune have precluded the publication of the "Life of Peshwa Madhav Rao I" which I promised to present to the public. The career of this Peshwa is so important that the task of writing his biography deserves to be taken up by Indian scholars.

(2) As regards the comparative historical value of the Mohammedan authors living far away from the Deccan, Mr. Scott-Waring's opinion, endorsed by other weighty authorities, is quoted later on in this work, while refuting the charges and imputations brought against Nana Phadnavis by writers living on the outskirts of Bengal and having superficial acquaintance with the movements going on in the Maratha Capital.

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मंत्रालय

less, ignored the Maratha authorities on this subject and consequently he has failed to notice many a trait in the character of the great Maratha hero, the natural result being that in some places his achievements are over-rated and in others, his motives misunderstood or misrepresented.¹⁰ Over and above this, the character and position of Mahadji Sindia cannot be truly ascertained without a study of his relations with the other Sardars of the Poona Darbar and the dominant trait of piety which prevailed in his nature.

(1) Has Mr. Keene taken due notice of the predominant element of piety, which, according to every Maratha authority, formed a remarkable trait in the character of Mahadji Sindia? What evidence has Mr. Keene got to say that Mahadji Sindia was the greatest man of his time? Undue praise is as worthless as undue blame. Should not a Biographer attempt to avoid both? Mahadji always solicited the company of saintly persons and passed much of his time in praying the Almighty. Mr. Keene has altogether ignored this leading trait in Sindia's character. * European writers of Maratha History have not taken a due notice of the part that saints have played in the rise and growth of the Maratha power. *Vide* "Itihas Sangraha," Vol. II., June Number in which the reader will find details. "गणराज स्वामीजी शीवाजीच्या प्रमाणे मोगलांचे ताब्यांतील गांव जाहागीर मागिले होते, व्याघ्रप्रमाणे सावायण दीक्षित पाटणकरांनीं वाजीरावांस मयूरजवळ धर्मकृत्यासाठीं दहा गांव मागिले होते. सारील २८ जुलाई इ. सन १७३५ च्या पत्रामध्ये वाजीराव लिहितात: "स्वामीने मयूरसन्निध धर्मकृत्यास दहा गांव मागिले. व्यास तेथें आपला अमल बसला म्हणजे दहा गांव तुम्हीं मागाल ते इतना करून देऊ." Itihas Sangraha, page No. 41, Vol. II.

During Mahadji Sindia's career Mathura came under Maratha rule and Narayan Dixit's desire was fulfilled along with Bajji Rao's prominent resolve to extend the Maratha Empire.

and outward actions. My readers would certainly take into consideration all these circumstances, when judging of the merits of this work, which, undoubtedly, has been written under several difficulties, over which the author had no control, and adverse forces which naturally have done much to delay the publication of this work. " I cannot finish this Preface without referring to the work " Sketches of the Rulers of India " by Mr. G. D. Oswell, M.A. (Oxon), Principal of the Raj-Kumar College, Raipur, C. P. In this work too it is extremely difficult to find a likeness between Mahadji Sindia as painted by Maratha authorities and Mahadji Sindia as depicted by Mr. Oswell. " What is the reason of this difference

(1) This " Life " formed a part of the " History of Gwalior " which I wrote during the years 1894-1898. After publishing " The Marathas and the Moghals " in 1914, I never had any idea of presenting any work connected directly with Maratha History, as my time was mostly taken up by " The Life of the Late Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II. " which was completed in 1917. I thought it prudent to publish the " Life of Mahadji Sindia " and thereby fulfil, partly at least, the promise given in the Preface to my " Life of Ranoji Rao Sindia."

(2) See " The Marathas and the Moghals " by the present writer. In that work it is fully discussed how European Historians have failed to see that the Maratha Empire did not find its grave in the battle of Panipat of 1761 and that the result of that battle was, at least, as disastrous to the Afghans as to the Marathas, though the latter speedily recovered what they had lost and became stronger by the year 1772 during the heroic career of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I. .

in the two pictures of the great Maratha Hero? Young India has begun to think that the European writers on subjects connected with Maratha History generally write in such a fashion as to ignore the Maratha authorities. "Some are of opinion that the later European Historians often attempt to write in such a strain as to deprecate the Brahman Peshwas and their work in the building up of the Maratha Empire. Others believe that diplomacy is mixed up with policy and both are availed of in writing some recent historical works" in such a manner that the Marathas and the Maratha Brahmans may be estranged and fight among themselves to the end of time! This, per chance, may be rather a very harsh view but still there appears to be some grain of truth in the opinions expressed by the various parties.

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Kincaid's First Volume of the Mahratta History is just out and it is extremely gratifying to find that the worthy writer has pointed out the wrong notions of inaccurate Historians. Mr. Kincaid has appreciated the evidence after shifting it in the light of modern researches and his work is certainly expected to silence the tongues of unsympathetic and partial writers.

(2) Although Grant Duff has made several mistakes in his great work "The History of the Mahrattas," yet I am inclined to think that he has not wilfully misrepresented facts. Grant Duff's errors or omissions were, I believe, honest. At least it is beyond doubt that he has not found space in his work for such wild rumours as those mentioned in this work later on when dealing with the cause of Mahadji Sindia's death.

My revered friend, the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M. A., L. C. S., who took very great interest in my historical studies, once told me that it was impossible to find a more sympathetic or honest European author than Grant Duff. ⁽¹⁾ the worthy Historian of the Marathas and more or less I share the same opinion. At least it is beyond the pale of doubt that some of the modern European writers of Indian Histories generally and Maratha History particularly show some sort of prejudice or pre-possession, which historians should try to avoid as far as possible. ⁽²⁾

(1) Grant Duff's errors and omissions have been severely criticized by Mr. Rajwade. See page 22 of the "Peshwa's Shikawadi," where the author (Mr. Rajwade) clearly points out Grant Duff's errors and says :—

“भावार्थीक स्वामींनीं पत्रे, पत्रांच्या रोजनिशा, पत्रांच्या चिठ्ठिपत्रांनीं पत्रे, सुमारे २६ बवारी व किल्ला, क्वागिना इत्यादी सामग्री एकत्र करून एकत्रित होऊन अशा अशा कदा कदा काही आशय वाटते. मित्रांच्या पत्रांच्या मित्यांकरे शीट व व्यवस्थेरी (वार्तिक) लक्ष न घ्याव्यात. रोजनिशांना त्रिका नोंद असाय करावा त्रिका न कल्यातुळे व बवारी व क्वागिना त्यांचे प्राचीन विभाग देविल्यातुळे. एकत्र होऊन हो शोधक झाला आहे.”

(2) The following extract from the *Lombay Chronicle*, dated the 12th of October, 1918, would be of great interest to our readers, as it has a direct bearing on this important subject:—

Mr. Kincaid on the Marathas.

“Our official ambassador at Delhi and Simla, Mr. Kincaid, was responsible for the following :—

There has been for many years an impression that the Marathas are a treacherous people and “Treacherous Marathas,” “Maratha treachery,” are phrases found constantly in English histories of India. Indeed, a former

Indian scholars have not paid up to this time that serious attention to so important a subject as the History of their country. Ramade, Telang and Dutt of the past times and Rajwade, Sane, Khare, and Parasnis of our own times have done much in the direction of historical research. Yet a History of India or a

Member of this Council, the late Sir Herbert Risley, went so far as to draw this remarkable conclusion. He said, Shivaji was a treacherous man; Shivaji was a Maratha; therefore Marathas are treacherous.

"I am glad to say that modern research has shown that the accepted story of the meeting of Afzalkhan and Shivaji is nothing but a pack of lies and that so far from Shivaji having treacherously murdered Afzalkhan, he acted in legitimate self-defence.....Well Sir, there were other qualities that Shivaji showed, resourcefulness, courage, fertility of invention and endurance. All these qualities, I venture to think, have been abundantly shown by Maratha regiments at the front; and I am sure the Council will agree that the reputation which our Maratha Troops have gained on that front has removed a slur on their reputation, which really never existed except in the imagination of inaccurate historians."

"We would draw the attention of Sir Verney Lovett specially to these remarks. If the Rowlatt Committee had come to Poona before trying to inter-weave the Shivaji Festival and Ganpati Festival into objectionable propaganda, it would have seen the hollowness of such a ridiculous standpoint. We hope that the budding Maratha historian's ringing speech in the Imperial Legislative Council will have a wholesome effect on the Bombay Government which seems to indulge still in old-world ideas, and obsolete theories."

History of Maharashtra by an Indian is felt as a great desideratum. Incalculable is the effect of the innumerable mis-statements or prejudiced views on the minds of the school boys and college students, who believe their historical text-books as a gospel truth.

I humbly believe that historical subjects should always be approached in as impartial a spirit as the human constitution allows and that policy or diplomacy should never be mixed up with history. In such a spirit I have tried to deal with the present ⁽¹⁾ work. The historian should, moreover, always bear in mind that truth must be spoken without indulging in unnecessarily painful details as is so well pointed out by Sir John Kaye, the author of the excellent work on "The Sepoy Revolt."

(1) The reader would be interested to peruse the interesting letter which Mr. C. A. Kincaid wrote to the author of this work. *Vide Appendix.*

(2) Those, who wish to write on the subject of Maratha history, should always bear in mind that party spirit, which is found in every State, was raging strenuously in Poona after the death of the Peshwa Nana Sahib in 1761. Under the circumstances several painful episodes should be handled very cautiously and carefully in order to escape the penalty of giving unnecessary pain to the descendants of those heroes who were concerned in them. For instance, there are some who assert that Sawai Madhav Rao committed suicide, owing to the maltreatment of Nana Phatuvis ignoring the important evidence of Tukoji Rao Holkar I who was sitting with the Peshwa at the time and whose letter in this connection is of utmost weight.

The reader would also be surprised to learn that Indian authors too have not shown a better spirit occasionally, when dealing with the Maratha history, as would be evident from a perusal of the publications of Professor Jadunath Sirkar whose doubtful appreciation of Shiwaji and other Maharashtra heroes causes nothing but unmixed pain and wonder. (1)

What evidence or justification has Mr. Sirkar adduced to prove the extremely painful and tottering aspersions against the Maratha heroes? Why should Mohammedan authorities be believed at the cost of the Maratha documents? Suffice it to say that caste prejudices or policy or diplomacy should not enter into the region of historical investigations and publications.

I have said nothing without evidence. Naturally I have relied on Maratha authorities, when dealing with a career of a Maratha soldier and statesman like Mahadji Sindia, keeping sufficient margin for the admission of facts, if they are facts at all, not referred to by the writers of Maharashtra.

(1) *Vide* "Modern Review" for the month of October 1914, in which Mr. Jadunath Sirkar makes very bold and unjustifiable remarks about the Marathas. My reply to Mr. Sirkar was published in the "Bengalee" of Calcutta, dated 23rd December, 1914. About the undoubted importance of the Maratha History, *vide* "The Marathas and the Moghals." See Appendix.

I cherish sanguine hopes that at least in Maratha States⁽¹⁾ Maratha History would receive keen attention and cordial support and that the misrepresentations like those above alluded to would be strenuously challenged and counteracted by Maratha scholars, whereby an incalculable benefit would be conferred on the coming generations of students in schools and colleges, who are compelled to study the text-books containing the said misstatements, misrepresentations or doubtful assertions.

The aim of the European writers of Indian or rather Maratha History is invariably to show that Mahadji Sindia was independent of the Peshwas. But a careful study of the history of the Marathas would clearly point out that Mahadji, as a pious Hindu statesman of the old school, was outwardly as well as at heart, as loyal to the Peshwas as to his own ambitious schemes. Those, who wish to make a great fuss about the apparent rivalry between Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindia, forget altogether the fact that Nana Phadnavis was the first to support Sindia's cause and bring him to the favour

(1) See Scot-waring's observations regarding the Mohammedi-*Tawarikh* writers living in Upper India, far away from the centre of Maratha politics and prone to be misguided as much by rumours as by the force of personal feelings.

(2) The reader would be much benefited by a perusal of the very interesting article entitled "The last two years of Mahadji Sindia" from the facile pen of the learned

able notice of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, and Sindia never failed to remember throughout his life the deep debt of gratitude he owed to Nana Phadnavdes.¹

That those writers, who make wild assertions about Nana and Mahadji on insufficient or unreliable grounds, are far from being correct or accurate, is now well established in the light of the new material published by Pandit Wasudeo Shastri Khare and others and equally well established is the fact that

Professor Chintaman Gangadhar Bhanu, published in the 18th Volume of the *Bharat-Itihās-Saṁśodhak-Maṇḍal*, pages 83-97. Pandit Wasudeo Shastri Khare has published several valuable letters from the records of the Patwardhan Sardars and the new material is very ably utilized by Professor Bhanu in dealing with the events during the last two years of Mahadji Sindia.

(1) *Vide* "Letters, Memoranda, etc." published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane, B.A. The reader should carefully bear in mind the ceaseless endeavours of General Hari Pant Phadke in this connection, because both Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindia had full confidence in the good old General who combined true bravery with great love for veracity and urbanity. That Mahadji Sindia's ambition was always influenced by his predominant trait of piety and love for God is proved by voluminous evidence. *Vide* Volume 17th of *Bharat-Itihās-Saṁśodhak-Maṇḍal*. Other authorities support this view. Mahadji was always a patron and admirer of saints and saintly poets to the end of his life. Nana Phadnavis, though ambitious like Mahadji, was equally pious, as is well told by the saintly poets like Moropant. Perfidy or treachery or intentional bad faith cannot be expected from such characters.

there was a sincere intimacy between the two great Maratha personages before the death of Sindia at Wamawadi in 1794 A. D.⁽¹⁾ It was once a fashion to find imaginary faults with the Peshwas and attempt to depreciate their worth and work on the slightest possible prettexts. Caste prejudices obviously interfered with the opinions that some of the Indian writers expressed with regard to the Peshwas.⁽²⁾ This is a very sad circumstance. Happily, however, a better spirit appears to influence the judgments of some recent Indian writers and I sincerely trust that young India would rise above the shackles of caste prejudice at least in the region of history. I venture to address a few words to my readers who have heartily appreciated my works on Philosophical and Historical subjects. The critics would be wasting their energy if they find fault with me for any defect in elegance of diction. In the region of Philosophical and Historical discussion elegance of diction is not the main aim, especially when the author has to write a work in a foreign language. My object in writing this historical

(1) *Vide* Fraser's Nizam and the incorrect view therein taken about Nana's part in seeking the ruin of Sindia. The learned Professor Chintaman Gangadhar Bhau has well shown in his able article entitled "The last two years of Mahadji Sindia" how the view is wrong and groundless. The reader would find more details on this point in the main body of this work. Nothing would have been more detrimental to the aims of Nana than the ruin of Sindia, who was the strongest of Nana's partisans and ever ready to support his wise and patriotic schemes.

biography in English is that it may be read in all parts of India and other countries and that the mistakes of writers like Mr. H. G. Keene, M.A., L.C.S., C.I.E., may be exposed to the public at large. I have consulted all the available authorities bearing on the publication of this third volume of the "Series" and it rests with the reader to judge how far I have succeeded.⁽¹⁾

I gratefully acknowledge the help that I have received from my revered father, the late Rao Bahadur Waman Rao Tatya Burway, who had long served in the Gwalior State²⁾ under His Highness the late Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindia, G.C.S.I., O.C.B., C.I.E., Counsellor of Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress Victoria the Good, and who encouraged me to pursue my studies in Maratha History and to write the present work. Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane's "Kavyetilhas Sangrah," Pundit Wasudeo Waman Shastri Khare's "Nana Phadnavis," The Hon'ble Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu's "Mahadji Sindia," Mr. Rajwade's

(1) I gratefully acknowledge the warm appreciation I have received from Bombay, Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawad and Ceylone from the Press as well as from eminent scholars like Mr. Tilak, Justice Sir John Woodroffe, Kt., Sir Narayan Chandawarkar, the Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Kincaid and others. British Officers like Sir John Wood, Colonel C. E. Laard and others have always generously extended their support to me.

(2) I owe my studies in Philosophy and History to my revered father, who had a deep interest in Maratha History. The following extract from the letter of the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ramole, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E., dated the 25th



My revered father, the late Rao Bahadur
Waman Rao Tatya Burway,
who encouraged me to write the History of Gwalior,

valuable publications and Rao Bahadur Parastis' "Itihas-sangrah" have afforded me very great help in this biography of the "Mighty Pillar of the Maratha Empire." About the "Selections" from the "State Papers," edited by Forrest, I have only to add that they are after all, "Selections" and though they contain valuable information, the enquisitive reader is often inclined to think that a full account is not to be found there and that this circumstance detracts much from the value of Forrest's "Selections."⁽¹⁾ I had the pleasure of reading several unpublished letters of Nana

August, 1894, from Bombay, would be interesting in this connection :—

"I duly received your letter of the 20th ultimo. I have read your father's Testimonials and return them herewith. They are very satisfactory. As long as such Native Officers as your father find service in the Native States, there is every ground for hoping that the Native States furnish a justification for their existence.

I shall be glad to have a look at the History of the Sindia Family which, you say, you have written from materials furnished by the Jaipur and Agra Libraries.

You can send the papers at your convenience.

On this side of the country, the Hon'ble Mr. Natu, pleader at Belgaum, has written a Life of Mahadji Sindia in Marathi. I wish you to read it if you have not done so before. As you take interest in Maratha History, I send herewith a printed proof of the first two chapters of the Maratha History we propose to write. You can send the proof with the book you have to send."

(1) About the "Selections" edited by G. W. Forrest, Mr. P. E. Roberts' observations deserve to be studied :—"Sir George Forrest prints less than half of the Proceedings of

Phadnavis written to Ali Bahadur, Tukoji Holkar, and Mahadji Sindia and some of them I have given in the Appendix. These letters were given to me from the Daftar of the late Diwan Rao Bahadur Pandurang Prabhakar *alias* Tatya Goray, C.I.E., whose ancestors had been Ministers of Ali Bahadur and his successors under orders from the Peshwa. Mr. Sadashiv Mahadeo Divekar is publishing all these letters in a separate volume. I cannot finish this Preface without expressing my sincere thanks to His Highness Maharaja Sindia, H. H. Maharaja Holkar, H. H. Maharaja Jaipur and other Princes, who have extended their generous and kind support to my literary productions. My cordial thanks are due to Sardar Tatya Sahib Dixit of Shendurni for valuable information. I heartily thank Seth Narotam Morarji Gokuldas, of Bombay, Rai Bahadur S. M. Bapna,

that day, without any marks of omission to show that the entry is incomplete. The full account may be read in reports from the committee of the House of Commons (1804), Vol. V., P. 18-19. The portion omitted, though no doubt this is accidental, contains statements of Warren Hastings which tell strongly against Sir George Forrest's view of the Chaitasing incident.....Sir George Forrest also omits all record of the fact that the agreement was re-considered on July 5....." Page 205. On page 206 of his "Historical Geography of India," Mr. Roberts has further criticized Sir G. Forrest's "Selections" from the Letters, Despatches, etc., Vol. II, P. 542, 549, 551." Past students of the Deccan College of Poona might remember Sir George Ferrest as their old Professor.

B.A., M.A., B. Sc., of Indore, Colonel Kailas Narayan Haksar, B.A., C. I. L., of Gwalior, and Rai Bahadur Sir Hukum Chand, Kt., of Indore, for their liberal support. I rejoice to sincerely acknowledge the great help I received from my nephew Mr. R. G. Burway and from Mr. Y. T. Mangaokar, Superintendent, Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior.

In conclusion, I pray the Almighty Shri Rama to bless India and England. I trust that the present publication may, at least, be serviceable in awakening a strong desire in the minds of young India to take up the important subject of Indian History and to endeavour to correct the mistakes and misrepresentations prevailing in this country with regard to our History, because a nation which has a glorious past, is entitled to have a glorious future.

INDORE CITY,
17th April 1921.

M. W. BURWAY.

(1) Mr. Vishwamath Kashinath Rajwade, whose historical researches are so well known and admirable, strongly criticizes the apathy of Indian Princes and Jagirdars in this respect in the following terms : " असे, राजे निरले अहेत, जहागीरदार दुल्लया धन अहेत, आणि इनामदार सोपा कायत अहेत. ते जेगे दोई तावकाळयवत, जेगे झालेले मल्लमगिरीनीले जे आपण, त्यांनीं राज्याच्या या पिवरांचे रक्षण कायम ठेविले पाहिजे. "

Preface to Rajwade's M. I. S. Khund, II (miscellaneous). Is there not some truth in these observations? Have the Indian Princes done their duty satisfactorily? More comment is unnecessary on this point.



MAHADJI SINDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Mahadji Sindia was born about the year 1727 A. D.¹ when his father, Ranoji Sindia, was employed under the heroic Peshwa Bajirao who was actively engaged in the subjugation of the territories of the decaying Moghal power. Ranoji had three sons from Minabai,² who was formally married to him, and two sons³ from his informal connection with Chimabai.

(1) *Vide* "Mahadji Sindia," page 267, by the Hon'ble Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu, B.A., LL.B. Mr. Natu says that Mahadji died at the age of 67. Mr. Compton's opinion is that Sindia died at the age of 64, but Compton adduces no reasons. *Vide* page 78 of Compton's DeBoigne. I have followed Mr. Natu's more weighty authority in this respect. I differ from Mr. Natu, when he says that Sindia was a शर्मा. *Vide* page 19 of Natu's "Mahadji Sindia." Many of the Maratha Sardars considered Mahadji Sindia as illegitimate, but there is no reason why an offspring from a Rajput princess should be so looked upon. On this point, however, the critics must agree to differ.

(2) Her name is Nimbabai according to the Genealogy found at Gwalior.

(3) Mahadji's younger brother Tukeji died in the battle of Panipat, 1761. Mr. Natu thinks that Grant Duff is

Mahadji was quite young but sufficiently precocious to imbibe the spirit of the age and the grand ideals which Bajirao⁽¹⁾ had placed before himself as well as before the whole of Maharashtra. The times in which Mahadji was born, witnessed the whole-hearted and energetic resolve of the Maratha nation under Bajirao's guidance and leadership to extend the

wrong in stating that Tukoji Sindia died before Ranoji Sindia. Captain Tod mentions that Santaji was the fourth son of Ranoji Sindia, but this is not supported by any valid authority. *Vide* Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, page 663, and Natn's "Sindia," page 301. Of Ranoji's five sons, four died in battle. Jayappa was assassinated at Nagore, Jotiba died in 1752 at the village of Burwasangar, which was given as Inam to Jayappa by the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao. Dattaji fell in battle at Burawoo near Delhi and Tukoji Sindia died at Panipat.

(1) The following extract from the letter of Captain Gordon to the President in Council, Bombay, dated the 21st July 1739, would clearly point out how commanding was the personality as well as the position of Bajirao in those times :—

'I have throughout the foregoing hinted at the power of Bajirao, who will always be capable of rendering abortive any application made to the Shahu Raja, and probably show his resentment thereat : so that although a civil correspondence with the said Raja may not be amiss, care must be taken that he is not solicited for what interferes with Bajirao, whose authority at Court is ever such, that in the absence of the Raja, and contrary to the advice of the seven principal Counsellors, he can enforce a complete obedience to his sole mandates'Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, page 80.

Maratha power to the farthest extremity of India.⁽¹⁾ Sindia thus was an exponent of the spirit of the times and keenly influenced by the patriotic environments in which he lived and moved in his youth. The great Bajirao died in 1740 and was succeeded by his able son, Balaji Bajirao,⁽²⁾ in whose career the Maratha power met with the greatest disaster on the field of Panipat in 1761 A. D. Mahadji's father Ranoji Rao died at Shujalpur in Malwa in 1746, while the subject of this biography was about 16 years of age and so unable to grapple with the opposition to

(1) A perusal of the account of the English Embassy to Chimaji Appa, "General of the Marathas at Bassein," and of the English Embassy to the Court of Shahu Raja, "King of the Marathas" would prove interesting in this connection. *Vide* page 71-80 of "Forrest's Selections" from Bombay State Papers, Vol. I. About Bajirao I. Captain Gordon, *inter alia*, says :—

".....He is very secret in his purposes, insomuch that the forces which attend him are often ignorant where he intends to lead them. They follow him with an implicit obedience....." "From the time when the first Bajirao established the ascendancy of the Maratha power in Central India, the Princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chauth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, or a sum arbitrarily estimated equivalent to a fourth, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona : but as the authority of Sindia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right....." Mill's British India, Vol. VII, page 85-86.

(2) Mr. V. R. Natu considers this Peshwa to be the greatest of his dynasty (page 42). I differ from the Hon'ble

his prospects. Of Ranoji Rao's five sons, all brave and faithful like their father, four died at various times a heroic death, during battles with the Princes in Rajputana and the Afghans.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Natu, though I admit that Balaji Bajirao was a great statesman. The times were such that statesmanship required to be combined with the qualities of a warrior in order to ensure the success of an undertaking. Balaji's amiable manners and diplomacy had so far influenced the Chhatrapati Shahu that the "King of the Maratha's" signed away regal authority to this Peshwa before his death." "शाह महाराजांनी मरण्याचे पूर्वी बाळा शिंद्याचे नांवें सर्व मराठी राज्यांचें व्यवस्थापन करून दिले होतें; त्याला या सांगोलें थेंच ठरलेल्या यादीनिं विशेष बळकटी आली." —Natu, page 21. *Vide* "The Marathas and the Moghals" by the present writer.

(1) See page 301-302 of Mahadji Sindia by Hon'ble Mr. Natu and also page 695 of Forrest's "Selections" where the Genealogy of Sindia family is given.

The reader would find interesting details about Ranoji Sindia, whose faithful services and bravery were appreciated by Bajirao, who raised Ranoji to the position of a Saranjami Sardar. During Bajirao's regime several Maratha families rose to greatness by doing excellent work for the Maratha Empire, which the genius of that great Peshwa extended by uniting the hearts of the Marathas and the Maratha Brahmins : "पहिले बाजीराव पेशवे हाजीर जेन मराठे सरदार एकत्र करून, 'सोऱ्या हावसे लष्करी नोकरी घण्याचा चांगला प्रयत्न केला होता, असे अनेक जुन्या कागदांवरीन दिगून येते."

Vide I. S., page 82, Vol. II, June No.

It was the end and aim of the policy of Bajirao to try for the expansion of the Maratha Empire by the joint efforts of a united Maharashtra and his whole life he sacrificed for that purpose.

Minabai's sons met with premature death and Chinabai, even in the widest stretch of her imagination, could not have thought it possible that her son Mahadji would ever get a chance ⁽¹⁾ to succeed to the family Jagirs of Sindia. But destiny is stronger than man. Jayappa and Dattaji fell during the expeditions to Rajputana and Delhi and the brave Jankoji Rao, Jayappa's son, was put to death by Ahmad Shah Abdally after the battle of Panipat in 1761 A. D. ⁽²⁾ Mahadji returned to the Deccan after the disaster at Panipat after passing through many ordeals along

(1) The reader would get a very clear view by reading the letters relating to Maratha affairs in Hindustan from 1750 to 1761, published by Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade in 1898. Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Introduction to that Volume throws a powerful light on the period and points out the mistakes of Mr. Keene and other European writers. Mr. Rajwade observes with much accuracy and in a remarkable manner that the Sindias received no substantial help from Malhar Rao Holkar during this period (*vide* page 53 of Rajwade's Introduction).

(2) *Vide* Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane's "Letters, Memoranda, etc.," and Rajwade's work above alluded to. The correspondence that passed between the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao and his Sardars Sindia and Holkar during this period is very interesting and it is a pity that this correspondence is, more or less, ignored by the recent writers of Maratha History and especially by Mr. H. G. Keene. A clear view of the period is impossible without reference to these important letters. Mr. Rajwade has shown how Pandit Kashirai's narrative of the Panipat affair is defective in several respects. See Mr. Nahu's "Life of Mahadji Sindia" and Rajwade's Works.

with the Sardars Malhar Rao Holkar, Vitthal Shivdeo Vinchurkar, Nana Phadnavis and others.⁽¹⁾ The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao had left the Deccan with Raghuji Bhosla to re-inforce the Panipat expedition but the fatal news reached him on the banks of the Nerbada and broke his heart. He never recovered from the shock.⁽²⁾

The Peshwa returned to Poona and died there on 23rd May 1761 A. D. He was succeeded by his

(1) Mr. V. K. Rajwade has given a lucid description of the movements of Sadashiv Rao Bhau during the Panipat expedition and clearly shown how the suspicious behaviour of Govindpant Bundela helped Ahmad Shah Abdally in preparing for the struggle and setting his camp in good order and well provided with supplies. Mr. Rajwade also mentions that Malhar Rao Holkar could not escape some portion of the discredit of the disaster owing to reasons well detailed by him in the work above alluded to. That Ahmad Shah Abdally was disheartened by the strength of the Marathas up to 17th December 1760 is beyond doubt and even Grant Duff indirectly admits it.

(2) Elsewhere in this work I have alluded to the mistakes committed by Mr. Keene with regard to the career of Mahadji Sindia. Mr. Keene's mistaken view about Ahmad Shah Abdally being in Anupsar in the September of 1759 is well exposed by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the following terms :—“१७५८च्या मेंव ग्युनाथरावानें तैमूरशाहाला होकरून दिल्लीपासून अवदाली हिंदुस्थानांत येणार होताच. परंतु बलुचिस्थानांत नासीर जंगानें बंड केले होते, ते मोठ्ठन शिकारपूरच्या वाटेनें हिंदुस्थानांत येण्यास त्याला १७५९चा नोव्हेंबर महिना लागला. अवदाली ज्या अर्थी १७५९च्या नोव्हेंबर महिन्यांत लाहोरपास आला, त्या अर्थी १७५९च्या सप्टेंबरांत तो अनूपशहरी आला म्हणून कीन म्हणतो (Fall of the Moghal Empire, p. 11). ते अविश्वसनीय आहे, हे स्पष्ट आहे. राजवाडेकृत “मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची सधर्षी” (१७५०-१७६१) पान ६१—प्रस्तावना.





The Peshwa Madhav Rao I.

second son, Madhav Rao. A better ruler than this "just and spirited prince" seldom ruled over an Empire. His career, like that of his grandfather the great Bajirao, was one of continued success in all parts of India. It was during the reign of this heroic Peshwa that the Maratha flag was triumphant in all parts of India and powerful chiefs like Hyder Ali of Mysore were completely humbled and compelled to pay heavy tributes.⁽¹⁾ The sole object which this Peshwa had in view was to release the Hindus from the yoke of the Mohamedans. For the attainment of this purpose Madhav Rao sent expeditions repeatedly from Poona. It was, in short, in the reign of this Peshwa that an energetic policy was pursued by the Poona Government for dealing a death blow to the Musalman supremacy as well as for wreaking a fearful vengeance on the Rohillas.⁽²⁾ Hence it was that the Maratha power was at its zenith in this reign and "The

(1) Those persons, who assert that the Maratha Empire found its grave in the battle of Panipat of 1761, should bear in mind that the Maratha power became more formidable eleven years after the Panipat affair, *i. e.*, at the end of the career of the Peshwa Madhav Rao in 1772. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the Maratha power was destroyed by the battle of Panipat in 1761. The Maratha power was strong enough to withstand the disaster of Panipat and to re-assert itself at no distant date. *Vide* "The Marathas and the Moghals."

(2) *Vide* Strachey's "Rohilla War." For a clear view of the domestic affairs of the Peshwa family after Balaji Bajirao's death, the reader should see "Madhav Rao Sindia"

Maratha Empire regained," to use Captain Grant Duff's words, "the tone and vigour it had lost." Under the auspicious support of such an excellent Prince, Mahadji⁽¹⁾ had the good fortune to begin his service and it will be seen in the following pages that he proved himself worthy of the favour and confidence of his heroic master.

After the death of Jankoji Rao Sindia, Mahadji was the only surviving son of Ranoji Rao, but as he was not strictly legitimate, he was considered by the several Maratha Sardars of the Court of the Peshwa to have no claim to the Jagirs of the Sindia Family.⁽²⁾ Raghoba sided with those of the Sardars

by Mr. Natu. In spite of these family feuds, the good sense of the Peshwa Madhav Rao prevailed and in every respect the tone of the administration and the strength of the Maratha Empire revived during his short but energetic and successful career.

(1) In Maharashtra there is a popular belief that Mahadji was an illegitimate son of Ranoji Rao Sindia and to some extent this belief led to a cold disregard for Sindia amidst the ranks of the old Sardars of the Deccan. It appears, however, that Mahadji's mother was a Rajput Princess and the anecdote in this connection has been given in the Appendix to this work. *Vide* also page 43 of the "Life of Ranoji Rao Sindia" by the present author.

Vide "History of the Vinchurkar family" in connection with this matter of Mahadji's succession and the letter written by Raghoba to Vithal Shivdeo, pages 50-53. Nearly five or six years the matter was pending but was at last decided by the Peshwa Madhav Rao in favour of Mahadji.

(2) The reader would be much benefited by a perusal of the letters which the Peshwa Nana Sahib addressed to

who were opposed to the succession of Mahadji, and who wished that he should be appointed as a guardian of his nephew, Kedarji, son of Tukoji, who being the full brother of Mahadji was in no way better than him. The Peshwa Madhav Rao who was favourably disposed towards Mahadji and had a high opinion about him, expressed his disapproval of such an absurd arrangement and supported the claims of Mahadji. This independence on the part of the Peshwa greatly exasperated Raghoba, but Madhav Rao adhered to his former decision and confirmed Mahadji in his Sardari and bestowed on him the family Jagirs.⁽¹⁾ It should also be particularly remembered that Nana Phadnavis and Haripant Phadke had strongly recommended Mahadji to the kind notice of the Peshwa Madhav Rao and were chiefly

Jayappa, the father of Jankoji Sindia. These letters show how high Jayappa stood in his master's estimation and how solicitous the Peshwa was about the affairs in Upper India. The correspondence from 1750-1761 is very interesting. We have given two letters from the Peshwa to Jayappa Sindia (*vide* Appendix).

(1) Raghoba had obstructed the succession of Ahilyabai with similar indiscretion. The Peshwa Madhav Rao and his wife, the saintly queen Ramabai, were strongly inclined to do justice to Ahilyabai's claims to the Jagirs of the Holkar family and at last the Peshwa recognized Ahilyabai's claim in spite of Raghoba's strenuous opposition. Ramabai always entertained a warm and affectionate regard for Ahilyabai, who duly reciprocated that generous kindness in many a way--every year Ahilyabai sent valuable presents to Ramabai as a token of her affection and respect.

instrumental in persuading the Peshwa to recognize Mahadji's succession.⁽¹⁾ It reflects the highest credit on the Peshwa that he should be inclined to choose good men, like Mahadji, Nana Phadnavis and Haripant Phadke for highly onerous duties. The following pages will show that the Maratha Empire rested securely for a long time to come on these three mighty pillars—Mahadji,⁽²⁾ Nana and Haripant Phadke—and with their fall its fall also began.

A short time after this, Raghoba introduced many changes among the Jagirdars. He deprived

(1) The Saranjam enjoyed by Jayaji Sindia, Dattaji Sindia and Jankoji Sindia was continued to Kedarji Sindia and Mahadji Sindia and Achyutrao Ganesh, in the employ of Naro Ganesh, Raje Bahadur, was appointed their Diwan in place of Ramchandra Malhar. The Sanads are written in Nana Phadnavis' hand. "कदारजी शिंदे व महादजी शिंदे यांचे नांवें मनाद कीं जयाजी शिंदे व दत्ताजी शिंदे व जनकोजी शिंदे यांचे कारकिर्दीस जो सरंजाम त्यांचकडे चालत होता, त्याप्रमाणें हल्लीं तुमचे नांवें करार करून दिल्या असे. तर कुल मामलतीचा वगैरे दौलतीचा बंदोबस्त राजेश्री अच्युतराव गणेश यांचे विद्यमानें करून पुर्वींपासून स्वामी सेवा एकनिष्ठपणें करीत आलां त्याप्रमाणें करीत जाणें." *Vide* "Selection from the Satara Rajas' and the Peshwa's Diaries." Peshwa Madhav Rao I, Vol. I, page 145.

(2) Mahadji had great regard for Ahilyabai. When Raghoba marched to Indore with the intention of usurping the Jagirs of the Holkar Family, Sindia had accompanied him. But as soon as the affair was divulged to Mahadji, he refused to give any help to Raghoba and the whole plot of Gangadhar Neshwant Chandrachood fell to the ground. The Peshwa Madhav Rao wrote to Ahilyabai at this very time in the following terms :—"तुमचे दौलतीविषयीं जो पापबुद्धी ठेवील त्याचे पारिपत्य बेलाशक करावें. तुम्हांकडील मुख्यार हुजूर पाठवावे."

Mahadji of his Jagir and bestowed it on Manaji Phankde who was said to be legitimately related to the Sindia family. Some of the dismissed Jagirdars went over to the Nizam at Hyderabad. Mahadji, however, true and loyal as he was to the Peshwa's throne, went to Santaji Nimbalkar at Beed, where he remained for some time. After a short time Mahadji was restored again to his Sardari through the support of the Peshwa and began to remain at the Maratha capital in the vicinity of the head of the Maratha Confederacy. Mahadji's influence with the Peshwa, like that of Nana and Haripant, began gradually to augment and before very long he succeeded in rising very high in the estimation of his august master.

CHAPTER II.

Now we come to the expeditions which were repeatedly sent by the great Madhav Rao for the subversion of the Moghal power and the subjugation of Rohilkhand as well as for checking Hydar Ali. With the beginning of these expeditions begins the active career of Mahadji in Hindustan.

In the year 1764, the Peshwa sent an expedition into Hindustan under Visaji Krishna Biniwale¹ for extending the Maratha power in Northern India. Mahadji was Visaji's second-in-command. He had obtained the Peshwa's permission to conquer the territories North of the Narbada. Thus during the course of this expedition Mahadji found an opportunity to increase his power and influence to such an extent that they began to be felt almost everywhere in India.

(1) It is a great pity that there is no detailed account of the life and career of this worthy warrior, who had played such an important part in the Delhi politics and the Rohilkhand campaign. The Peshwa Madhav Rao had a high opinion of Biniwale's ability and attainments. From 1764 to 1772, Biniwale greatly distinguished himself and won the golden opinion of the Peshwa. For details about this period, see Mr. Nahu's "Life of Mahadji Sindia," pages 88-91.

"Naro Shankar, Raja Bahadur, was sent to Mahadji Sindia to communicate to him the wishes of Government ;

The power of the Marathas had, as remarked already, been greatly shaken in those districts that were North of the Chambal and Jamna. The Rana of Gohad¹ and several other petty chieftains carried on a ruinous warfare, with the object of checking still further the power of the Marathas. For avoiding all these evils the foresighted and heroic Peshwa Madhav Rao had to send many expeditions which recovered the tarnished prestige of the Marathas. Raghoba the brave but misguided uncle of the Peshwa, undertook an expedition in the year 1765 for checking the progress of the Peshwa's enemies in Hindustan. Mahadji accompanied Raghoba in the expedition but he was not in the good books of the Peshwa's uncle, who had opposed long ago the succession of Mahadji on the ground of his illegitimacy. Even slight causes suffice to turn one's wrath against a person whom one hates. Some complaints were made regarding the doubtful conduct of Mahadji during the course of the siege of Gohad, where a report went round the Maratha camp, calling in question Mahadji's fidelity and charging him with dis-honourable deeds. Mahadji was informed that if he came to the Hazur and acted as desired by Government, his offence would be condoned."

Peshwa's Diaries, Peshwa Madhav Rao I, Vol. I, page 152.

(1) For details about the Gohad affair and the charges brought by Mahadji's enemies against him, the reader should read the "Life of Sindia" by Mr. Nattu, pages 92-94. Malhar Rao Holkar did his best to save Mahadji and at last succeeded in his endeavours.

in connection with the supply of provisions to the besieged. These were certainly grave charges and they were made more culpable owing to the fact that Mahadji, whose succession to the Jagir was confirmed by the Peshwa, had incurred the wrath of Raghoba. All these circumstances combined to bring on Mahadji a great calamity in the course of this expedition. Raghoba, incensed at such gross misconduct, ordered that Mahadji should be executed in the presence of all the Maratha forces.⁽¹⁾ But this strong order was prevented from being brought into force through the noble efforts of Vitthal Shivdeo Vinchurkar and Malhar Rao Holkar. One day, early in the morning Holkar and Mahadji rode out to the place where Raghoba's tents were pitched. As soon as Raghoba became out of his tent after discharging his morning duties (ablution, worship, and gymnasium) both of them, Holkar and Mahadji, fell at and clung to the feet of Raghoba. They continued to be in that position until they extorted a promise of pardon from Raghoba and a compliance with their request.

Malhar Rao, whose temper was very violent in his youth, but who was now extremely obedient, made a most pathetic and effective representation of Mahadji

(1) That this order was extremely unjust and not well suited to the occasion had been shown by the wise action of the Peshwa Madhav Rao. Raghoba undoubtedly was more severe than the necessity of the occasion and certainly prejudiced against Mahadji.

Sindia's cause in the presence of Raghoba.⁽¹⁾ Old age, long service, and the grant of a large Jagir had certainly made Malhar Rao's conduct extremely submissive and loyal to the Peshwa. After securing the promise of Raghoba to save Mahadji's life, Malhar Rao humbly said with tears in his eyes, "from my early life I have been in the service of the first three Peshwas. My days seem now almost to be numbered. So in my life-time at least these two youngsters (Mahadji and Khande Rao) may be allowed to serve you and thus their reputation be maintained." Soon after this, Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar and others were agreeably surprised to receive a letter from the vigilant Peshwa Madhav Rao,⁽²⁾ who had somehow got the intelligence of all these transactions in the Maratha camp at Gohad, and wrote strongly to say that Mahadji should be saved from the calamity as Ranoji Rao's whole family⁽³⁾ had sacrificed their lives in the service of the Maratha Empire.

(1) Raghoba was more weak than wicked. Occasionally he had some noble impulses but his whole career had been a continued series of mistakes and mis-deeds and he is justly considered as a black spot on the fair fame of the Peshwas and the unworthy father of a still more unworthy son.

(2) Madhav Rao is well known for his having maintained an effective intelligence department. It was from this Peshwa that Nana Phadnavis learnt the value of having timely intelligence from all parts of India where the Maratha interests were concerned.

(3) The Peshwas had always a supreme regard for the family of Ranoji Rao Sindia, as will be evident from

This expedition returned to Poona in 1766. After his arrival at the capital of the Maratha Empire, Mahadji served as a commander of the Khasa Paiga or the Household Troops of the Peshwa, and so far ingratiated himself with his master as to exercise much influence on the political affairs at Poona.

It was through his influence with the Peshwa that Ahilyabai, the celebrated virtuous Queen, whose peaceful and pious career is well remembered not only at Indore but throughout India, was enabled to succeed to the Jagirs of the Holkar Family. By being always near the great Madhav Rao, Mahadji was enabled to study the character of that eminent Ruler and learn his noble views of a just, united, and energetic Government. Mahadji and Nana fortunately had the rare opportunity of imbibing those patriotic notions—which they afterwards brought into force—of an unshaken union among the Maratha chiefs for the maintenance of the Maratha supremacy.

a perusal of "Letters, Memoranda, etc," published by Rao Bahadur Sane and the "Selections from State papers" by Forrest, *vide* also "The Marathas and the Moghals" by the present author. The Peshwa Madhav Rao I not only saved Ahilyabai and Mahadji Sindia but even went the length of checking his misguided uncle Raghoba, who desired to make much ado about the allegations of misconduct of Mahadji Sindia during the siege of Gohad. The following letter from the Peshwa Madhav Rao to Holkar and Vinchurkar is important :—“ आजपर्यंत आपले दायरेकर्मितां शिंदे यांचे कृत्यांचे सर्व पुरस्चरणांचे बळी पडले, फक्त पहाडजी एकटाच आपां उरला आहे. तोही होतकाल असून स्वामिभक्त आहे. यास्तव पहाडजी शिंदे यांचा वचाव होईल अशी वजवीज हर नजरेने करावी.

The acts of kindness, which Mahadji, owing to his being near the fountain of Maratha Power and influence — was able to do to Ahilyabai Holkar, were never forgotten by her throughout her life. These cordial relations between Sindia and the virtuous Queen of Indore were also of great benefit to both of them. So extraordinary was the moral excellence of this celebrated Queen that even foreigners had to lavish unstinted praise on her. Ahilyabai has immortalized her name by immemorable acts of charity and benevolence. She built Sarais and wells at every holy place in India, such as Benares, Haridwar, etc., at an enormous cost. What is worth noticing is that she paid her attention not only to her charitable distributions but she was also unflinchingly assiduous in her exertions to relieve the misery of the peasant classes and of her subjects at large. She was conspicuously loyal to her master the Peshwa and as a mark of great regard for her, she received the gift of Choli Maheshwar from the great Madhav Rao. She evinced a great amount of prudence and farsightedness in the discharge of her duty as a Ruler, while as a virtuous lady, she had only one equal in the devoted Queen of the just Madhav Rao Peshwa, whose determination to protect the weak

(1) The Peshwa's Khas Paga, also called "Hujrat Paga" was an important force consisting of ten thousand horse. As Commander of the Paga, Mahadji naturally came into frequent contact with the Peshwa, *vide* Itihas Sangraha.

(2) Mr. H. A. Ackworth's "Ballads" have done much service to the cause of the Maratha History by bringing to

against the strong has extorted such an admiration from Captain Grant Duff and other Historians.⁽¹⁾

The relations between Ahilyabai and Mahadji Sindia deserve careful attention. Mahadji heartily espoused the cause of Holkar, whenever he was in difficulty and this sympathy was cordially reciprocated by Holkar. Malhar Rao saved Mahadji Sindia at the time of the Gohad siege and Mahadji Sindia saved Holkar when the question as to Malhar Rao Holkar's successor was being unjustly handled by Raghoba. Ahilyabai had a very warm regard for Sindia, who looked upon her with sincere reverence. But these cordial relations were interrupted, as future events would show, partly by the imprudent conduct of

the notice of the public at large several unpublished ballads of Maratha celebrities of whom a detailed account is not given in the famous work of Grant Duff. In the Ballad of Ramabai, the devoted consort of Madhav Rao Peshwa, the affection that existed between them, is portrayed in a graphic manner. Mr. Ackworth has given a vivid description of the scene of the Peshwa's death and the molation of his queen on his funeral pyre. The following lines would prove very interesting to the reader :—

“ And forth her spirit soar'd,
 “ In Indra's ark divine upheld—
 “ Such Boon her piety compelled,
 “ Like Sulochana, side by side
 “ She graced the heavenly portals wide,
 “ With her beloved lord ”—page 72. .

(1) See the “ Life of Ahilyabai ” by Purushottam for further details regarding the affectionate terms and cordial intimacy that existed between these two virtuous ladies,

Sindia's Officers, and partly by the opposition of Ali Bahadur and Tukeji Holkar, both of whom were, more or less, jealous of Sindia's rapid rise and predominant influence in Hindustan. After the Satwas affair in 1792, the relations between Sindia and Holkar gradually cooled down and later on culminated in the battle of Lakhairce.⁶¹

Ramabai and Ahilyabai, whose immortal names are enshrined in glowing terms by the bards of Maharashtra.

Ahilyabai had given a loan to Mahadji Sindia. Besides this loan, Harkabai (often called Mavsibai), the favourite mistress of Malhar Rao, advanced Mahadji, when in distress, **six lakhs of rupees—Malcolm, page 132.**

(1) Sir John Malcolm thinks that the quarrel was between the officers of Sindia and Holkar and not between the two families. Compton differs on this point.

CHAPTER III.

In the latter half of 1768 the Peshwa, in furtherance of the views, already mentioned, again sent an expedition for the advancement of the Maratha Power in Hindustan. Visaji Krishna Biniwale and Ranchandra Ganesh Kanade were the Commanders of the forces, while Mahadji was second-in-command.¹ Their first operation was directed against the chiefs of Rajputana who paid ten lakhs of rupees as arrears of tribute. They were, thereafter, enabled to interfere in the affairs of the Jat State which was disturbed by great internal disputes and contentions among the sons of Surajmal. The Marathas were opposed by the Jats. Being defeated however near Bharatpur, the Jats agreed to pay sixty-five lakhs of rupees to them and thus ensured their safety. While the Marathas were encamped at Dig during the rainy season, the treacherous Najeeb Khan Rohilla began to open negotiations with them and make overtures of peace to their General Visaji Krishna Biniwale who listened to them with complacency. Najeeb, later on,

(1) The expedition started from Poona on the 19th October 1768. Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia joined it in Malwa in 1769, each with fifteen thousand horse. The Peshwa Madhraj Rao's letter to Visaji is very important. See the Appendix.

paid a visit to the Maratha Camp and behaved most respectfully and politely towards the Maratha chiefs, whom he now called his saviours. But the feigned courtesousness had no effect on the Marathas. He had already been looked upon as a son by Malhar Rao Holkar and he, therefore, tried to strengthen the ties of friendship by placing the hand of his son, Zabita Khan, in that of Tukoji Holkar. With all the attempts at flattery, Najeeb could not, however, please Mahadji, who was thoroughly bent on retaliation for the brothers and relations, who lost their lives at Najeeb's instigation. Mahadji, who was of a fiery temper and could not always control his passions, boldly said to Najeeb's face that the Marathas would extirpate the Rohilla Power and plant the Peshwa's flag over the land of the Rohillas.⁽¹⁾

Visaji Krishna Biniwale's desire to listen to Najeeb's overtures with complacency was in direct opposition to Sindia's views. Biniwale wanted to have his views regarding Delhi affairs realised through Najeeb's intervention and thus lighten the task of the re-conquest of Delhi. Mahadji wanted nothing less than cutting Najeeb's throat and devastating Rohilkhand. This difference of opinion between the Commander-in-Chief of the Maratha forces and his second-in-command led to a temporary relaxity in

(1) See Nani's "Life of Mahadji Sindia," pages 102-105. Najeeb Khan was inclined to think that the Marathas could never be able to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan again after the battle of Panipat of 1761.

the Maratha Military operations and necessitated a reference to the Peshwa Madhav Rao, whose wise decision in this matter pleased both the officers. Mahadji had represented to the Peshwa that Najeeb Khan could not be at heart a friend of the Marathas. The Peshwa concurred in Sindia's opinion but he informed Mahadji that as it was necessary to persuade the Emperor to come under the Maratha protection, Visaji's conduct was more suited to the occasion and hence it was approved of by the Peshwa's Government. This decision in the matter was really a master-piece of policy. By pursuing the advice of the Peshwa the Marathas could realise their views without any great trouble and they could also undermine Najeeb's power. In fact the wise Peshwa Madhav Rao wanted to pay the Rohilla Najeeb Khan in his coin and in the forthcoming paragraphs it will be seen how the Marathas were benefited by obeying the Peshwa's orders. ⁽¹⁾

In accordance with the Peshwa's ⁽²⁾ instructions, Zabit Khan, son of Najeeb Khan, was allowed to pay his respects to Visaji Krishna Biniwale in the Maratha

(1) Recently some of the letters written by the Peshwa Madhav Rao to Visaji Krishna Biniwale have been published in the "Itihas Sangraha" and they impart very interesting insight into this affair. *Vide* Appendix.

(2) How the movements of the Maratha expedition were guided by the Poona Darbar and how the minutest details were attended to and decided by the wise and vigilant Peshwa Madhav Rao would be apparent from the letters written by him to his Generals at this time. See Appendix.

Camp, where he remained for some time and then accompanied the Maratha General when the latter started on an expedition. In the meantime, however, Najeeb Khan, whose health seems to have been undermined by various anxieties as well as by the expected loss of power, breathed his last in 1770 A. D. and his son was consequently called upon to assume his father's office at Delhi, where the uncontrolled youth violated the sanctity of the Imperial Palace by carrying on intrigues with the princesses of the Royal Zanana. Zabita, in this way, forgot all the responsibility of his exalted position and cared for nothing but the sweet company of the beautiful princesses. This paved the way for the overthrow of the Rohilla Power particularly and generally of the Mahommedan supremacy at Delhi.

* The Marathas directed their operations against Rohilkhand, which they were successful in subjugating without any resistance worth the name. The Rohillas behaved, to use the words of Grant Duff, "with no spirit." The strong forts of Etawah, the province of Doab, and part of the territories of Najeeb Khan, fell into their hands. They next invaded Korra and preferred demands even on Shuja-ud-Dowlah, which "alarmed" the English. This was the first instalment of the debt of revenge. The remainder of the debt was to be paid with interest at no distant date.

Now comes the occurrence of the most glorious event after the battle of Panipat. It was an event, of

which the Marathas have every reason to be greatly proud, as it washed away the spot on their fair reputation and furnished them with an opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on those who had played them false at Panipat and through whose instigation the disaster at Panipat had been greatly augmented. Shuja-ud-Dowlah, aware of the power of the Marathas, had kept on an uninterrupted correspondence with the Maratha Commander-in-Chief Biniwale¹ and every thing was now ready for the consummation of the great Peshwa Madhraj Rao's hopes of re-establishing the Maratha supremacy. Mahadji, who, at this time, had reason to embark on the pursuit of many great designs of aggrandisement, found thus an opportunity of fulfilling his heart's desire by wreaking vengeance on the Rohillas. The joyful tidings that the Emperor Shah Alam had "openly declared his intention of throwing himself on the protection of the Marathas" was received with great satisfaction in the Maratha Camp and roused them to greater exertions to secure their object. The reason for the Emperor's adopting such a course was that he was, as he said, disgusted with the treatment to which he was subjected at Allahabad by his British Masters and he was watching every opportunity to free himself from such an unwelcome position. By this time, when the Emperor

(1) See Franklin's "Shah-Alum," from which the reader would be able to know how the English attempt failed to persuade the Emperor in accepting the English protection offered to the Shah.

had formally intimated his desire to seek the Maratha protection, the expedition under Visaji Krishna returned to Delhi from Rohilkhand.⁽¹⁾ The Imperial capital was taken and occupied by the Marathas. Here Visaji received through Tukoji Holkar the pressing solicitations from the Emperor and immediately assured him of every aid and support from the Peshwa's Government. Visaji held out many hopes to the helpless Shah Alam, promising to restore to His Majesty far greater dignity and power than that enjoyed by him at Allahabad under the British protection. These promises were certainly tempting and they were rigidly kept, so far as it was possible for the Marathas to do so without involving themselves in any difficulty or lowering their position. The Emperor, at last, left Allahabad in the May of 1771 for Delhi in spite of the strong objections of the British Officers. "The English Commander-in-Chief and the Vazier," according to Sir John Stratchey, "accompanied him to the frontiers of the Korra Province," where an attempt was made for a second time to dissuade the Emperor from seeking the shelter of the Marathas, but the English attempts, after all, produced no beneficial effects and the Emperor persisted in the course he had already chosen.⁽²⁾

(1) See Sir John Stratchey's "Hastings and the Rohilla War" for details. Visaji's Agent, Anand Rao, who was with the Emperor furnished interesting information about the movements of the Emperor.

(2) The Emperor entered into an agreement with the Marathas, of which the following were the principal conditions :—

(1) The arrears of Chouth accumulated since the time of Mohammad Shah should be paid.

Shah Alam took leave of his English masters and proceeded in the direction of Delhi. At some distance from the City the Emperor was met by Mahadji on behalf of the Maratha General Visaji. Mahadji conducted the Shah to the Maratha Camp, where the Peshwa's Commander-in-Chief received him with due ceremony and assured him of every assistance from the Poona Government. The Emperor then entered Delhi "under the auspices of Visaji Pant," who placed the Shah on the throne of his forefathers on the 25th of December 1771. Thus the Maratha Power was again at its zenith in Hindustan, and the great Madhav Rao Peshwa's desire of a Hindu supremacy was fulfilled by his Generals,—Visaji, Mahadji and Tukoji Holkar.⁽¹⁾

For some time after the Emperor's entry into Delhi, there prevailed a great cordiality between the Marathas and their protege, the Shah Alam. But this cordiality was only temporary either owing, per-chance, to the disregard of the Marathas for the

(2) The Maratha and the Moghal Armies should have equal shares in the acquisitions in Rohilkhand and elsewhere.

(3) The Jagirs of Maratha Sardars to be continued as before.

(4) Five lakhs to be paid at once for the expenses of the expedition against the Jats.

(1) The Maratha flag was hoisted on the fort at Delhi on 11th February 1771 and nearly ten months were required to arrange the whole scheme and place Shah Alam on the throne under Maratha protection.

Shah or perhaps owing to the unaccommodating disposition of the old and crafty Emperor.

This disagreement between the Marathas and the pageant Emperor prevented the complete subjugation of Rohilkhand from being effected. The Rohillas found a good opportunity to save themselves, but eventually their cause was lost, as there broke out dissensions in their ranks, which paved the way for their ruin. Meanwhile Zabith Khan, whose ambition drove him to try for the Vaziry at Delhi, was engaged in soliciting the aid of the Marathas. Zabith fortunately succeeded in securing the good graces of Holkar, though Mahadji was unwilling to render any assistance to this weak son of Najeib Khan, the disguised friend but really the inveterate enemy of the Sindia family. It may be within the recollection of our reader that Malhar Rao Holkar used to consider Najeib Khan as his son and hence the present incumbent of the Holkar Masmad found it morally necessary to assist the son of Najeib Khan.⁽¹⁾ At last Holkar and the weak Zabith Khan succeeded in ousting Mirza Najab Khan from the office of the premiership of the Empire. Zabith Khan assumed the conduct of the Imperial affairs and as a grateful present for good service and support, the Province of

(1) Visaji and Tukoji were on the side of Zabith Khan, while Mahadji opposed the Rohilla. The disagreement between the Maratha Generals was removed by the Peshwa, as his letter best shows.

lower Doab was conferred on the Marathas in the December of 1772.⁽¹⁾

Even at the expense of a digression, it is necessary to make a few observations with regard to the part the Peshwa Madhav Rao as well as his Generals, Visaji and Tukoji, and his Minister, Nana Phadnavis, have played in the re-conquest of Hindustan and the re-establishment of the Hindu supremacy in Delhi. In "Madhav Rao Sindia," one of the volumes in the "Rulers of India Series," the whole credit of the Hindu re-conquest of India is given to Mahadji and he is solely identified with the glorious monument of the Maratha Power. This is certainly a great injustice done to the great Peshwa Madhav Rao and to Visaji, Tukoji, and Nana Phadnavis. It was, as would be seen even from the pages of Grant Duff, Madhav Rao who had keenly felt the blow dealt to the Maratha Power at Panipat and had exerted himself to the utmost to wipe away that spot. It was the vigour of this Peshwa's policy and his undaunted energy that were at the root of the expeditions he sent so repeatedly in Hindustan, and these expeditions had done already so much that what Mahadji achieved afterwards at

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Nattu observes on page 109 as follows, with regard to the help and treatment received from Tukoji Holkar by Zabita Khan. "याप्रमाणे गैरहिल्लवर्तान मराठ्यांचे विरुद्ध हा नवा जमाव होत होता. पण आबेताखानाने तुकोजी होळकराचे विषयाने मराठ्यांशी तहाने बोलणे लाविले. त्याच्या बरोबर तह करणे महादजीस परमंत पळेल नाहीं व तो रागावून आपले फौजेसह त्रयपुर प्रांतांत गेला. मागे होळकराने एक लाख रुपये घेऊन आबेताखानाची, हार्ती लागलेली मुले माणसे मुक्त केली व आबेताखान पुन्हा अमीर-उल-उमराव हा अधिकार मिळवून थावा म्हणून, त्यानेकडून पुढील रुपये घेतले."

Delhi, might easily be described to be nothing more but the finishing stroke.⁽¹⁾ The glorious success of the Marathas, *en passant*, in Delhi in the year 1791, when there was no Madhav Rao to guide his Generals, was also as much due to the vigour of Nana Phadnavis' head as to the power of Mahadji's arms. It was moreover under Madhav Rao that both Nana and Mahadji had learnt their political lessons and had imbibed the patriotic notions of re-establishment of the Maratha supremacy after extirpating the Moghal power in India. Under these circumstances, the greater part of the credit for the Hindu re-conquest of India undoubtedly goes to the Peshwa Madhav Rao, in whose reign and through whose vigour the two chief centres of Mahommedan power, Delhi and Mysore, were already brought under Maratha influence and submitted to the might of the Peshwa's arms.⁽²⁾

During the stay of the Marathas at Delhi, a peculiarly interesting incident took place. It bears witness to the respect which all the Maratha Sardars and officers had for the august name of the Shrimant.

(1) *Vide* "Nana and Mahadji" by Professor Bhanu, who discusses this subject with exhaustive details and several interesting phases of this question are ably handled by the learned Professor in that small but valuable book.

(2) Much has been said in these pages about the Peshwa Madhav Rao's expeditions in Upper India. The reader would be delighted to find that the Peshwa's expeditions against Hyder Ali of Mysore were equally successful and the letters in this connection are exceedingly interesting. *Vide* Rajwade's and Khare's Works.

There was some disagreement between the Peshwa's Sardars and it was feared it might assume a serious shape. One day while the Maratha Sardars were on their way to the Darbar Hall, they were met by couriers, carrying urgent letters from the Peshwa Madhav Rao, who, on being apprised of the feuds between the Marathas, at Delhi, had specially sent these messengers, directing them to deliver the letters without any delay to the Maratha Sardars and to secure replies to the message on the very spot. The Sardars were met by the messengers on the way to the Darbar. They received the letters and asked the couriers to wait in the Maratha Camp for an answer until their return from the Darbar. The couriers, however, refused to wait and demanded a reply at once. All the Sardars quietly returned in a body and wrote to the Peshwa to the effect that there was no disunion in their ranks. Such was the awe felt for the name of Madhav Rao Peshwa and such was the affectionate regard, with which the Maratha nation looked up to their just and merciful master, the Great Madhav Rao.

It has already been said that Rohilkhand was overrun by the Marathas, previous to their coming to Delhi ostensibly to place the Emperor on the throne but really to re-establish their power. An adequate revenge, however, was not yet taken. For attaining this object Mahadji, the chief director of the Councils of Visaji Krishna, persuaded his superior to undertake a complete subjugation of the Rohilla country

and to wreak vengeance on Zabita Khan,⁽¹⁾ the son of Najeib Khan. The Marathas did not meet with any resistance in their career of conquest in Rohilkhand. No Rohilla dared to offer any opposition to the Maratha advance. They were, according to Grant Duff, "Panic-struck." Zabita Khan's territory was taken without any trouble. All the strong forts were occupied at once by the Marathas. A large treasure, deposited by Najeib Khan in the strong fortress of Futtergarh, was discovered and taken possession of by the conquerors. Throughout the length and breadth of Rohilkhand, no one could dare to face the Marathas. The Rohillas were humbled and many of them submitted to their conquerors, while a great many fled to the jungles to save their lives. The terror of the name of the Marathas cannot be described but can better be left to be imagined by the reader.

Thus the Maratha arms were victorious in the land of the Rohillas, who had proved faithless friends in 1761. To use the words of Sir John Strachey, "The Marathas had not forgotten the active part that the Rohillas and the Vazier had taken against them at Panipat and a heavy debt of vengeance remained to be paid."

(1) The Rohillas and Moghals could not see with complacency the Maratha success at Delhi and their intrigues soon commenced to obstruct the Marathas to their best. The Marathas had therefore to turn their arms again towards Rohilkhand.

That the debt was paid by the Marathas with compound interest has already been shown in the preceding paragraph. However, the Rohilla Najeeb Khan, being already dead, had escaped punishment. Jankoji Rao Sindia, the bravest of all the Sindia Family, owed his lamentable end to this Najeeb.⁽¹⁾ The Marathas had not at all forgotten the heinous part played by him in the tent of Shah Abdalli when the latter was advised by the Rohilla to take Jankoji Rao's valuable life. They ardently desired to revenge this treachery. But though Najeeb living could not be found for the purpose of being revenged upon, the Marathas, remembering his attitude towards them in general, "dug up," says Sir John Stratchey, "and burned with many indignities the body of Najeeb-ud-dowla!" The following extract from Sir John's "Rohilla War," would further show how the Rohillas received a fitting punishment for their phenomenal treachery at Panipat. "The wife and son of Zabith Khan, several ladies of Najeeb-ud-dowla's family, and a daughter of Ali Mohammad had been carried off by the Marathas, and these, on representations made by Shuja-ud-Dowla's agents at Delhi, were sent back. The Marathas also released, through

(1) The Fort at Fatchgarh, where Najeeb Khan lived, contained the treasure looted at Panipat by the Rohillas in 1761. There were also some Maratha women in the fort. The treasure and the Maratha women were taken to the Maratha Camp after the flight of Najeeb Khan to the Jat country.

his inter-cession, four hundred women, who had been taken away from Rohilkhand." In this way the Marathas paid the heavy debt of revenge and were completely victorious in Rohilkhand. Their sway was firmly established in that country till it was shaken and brought to the ground by Lord Lake in the year 1801.

In the Southern part of India, the victory of the Maratha arms had been equally glorious through the utmost efforts of the Peshwa personally and his Generals, Trimbak Rao Mama, Malhar Rao Holkar and Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar.⁽¹⁾ But the expedition to the South was not attended with as great and lasting political importance as was the one that was sent by the Peshwa in Hindustan, where it was once feared, the confederacy of the Mahomedan chiefs might almost have impeded the path of the Maratha progress. The timely measures, however, taken by the Peshwa, nipped in the bud the evils that were likely to overwhelm the Maratha Power and hence the danger passed away without assuming any serious shape.

(1) In this connection the letter written by the Peshwa's Vakil in Mysore is very important : — " स्वामींनी आज्ञापत्र सादर केलें कीं, नंदराज सर्वाधिकारी यास व हैदर नाईकाम जीद वाढला आहे. या समयीं अंतरंगीं सुद्धे लाऊन नंदराजाकडून करारनामा कीं, चौथार्द व सरदेशमुखीचा अंमल नमवून ध्यावा.....हल्लीं अल्प कष्ट करून नंदराजाची स्थापना होऊन चौथे सरदेशमुखीचा अंमल वसतो, पुढें संस्थान आपलें होतें...." *Vide Itihas-Sangraha*, 1910.

CHAPTER IV.

While the Marathas were successful in the South and while "the progress of the great Peshwa's generals"⁽¹⁾ had been still more important" in the North, a calamity over which human power could have no control, was on the point of approaching at Poona. The political situation of the Peshwa's capital was extremely critical owing to the alarming and incurable illness of this great, just, and merciful Peshwa. This sudden and unexpected stroke of misfortune aroused the greatest anxiety in the minds of Visaji and Mahadji, who were quite crushed by grief at the untimely and rapidly approaching termination of the active career of their master, whose heroic spirit had roused so much enthusiasm in all his officers and the might of whose arms had subdued Hyder Ali and other inveterate enemies of the Maratha Empire, who had on all occasions appreciated the services of his

(1) Before his death, the Peshwa had the pleasure of seeing his generals completely successful in the Imperial affairs at Delhi. Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar were re-called by the Peshwa to the Deccan for an expedition to Mysore. Mahadji left Jeypore for Deccanward journey. Tukoji Holkar left Delhi in order to proceed to Poona. Holkar could not take advantage of the Sanads of Kora and Allahabad Provinces obtained after defeating the Imperial Army.

Sardars and who had loved them as his sons. To Mahadji this sad occurrence was doubly disheartening, as it was through this Peshwa's strong support that Sindia had been recognised as a successor to the extensive Jagirs of Ranoji Rao's family.

When the news of the Peshwa Madhav Rao's illness and its incurable nature was received by the Chiefs, Sardars, Jagirdars and generals of the Maratha Empire, every one of them resolved to go to Poona to pay his last homage to the dying Peshwa, whose energy and prowess, combined with his love for justice and fair play, had drawn the hearts of all his lieutenants towards him and during whose short but most eventful reign the Maratha Empire had regained that tone and vigour which had been temporarily clouded by the calamity at Panipat. Visaji and Mahadji tried their utmost to return to Poona before their beloved master had left this mundane existence, but several causes, over which they had no control, prevented them from doing so.

Even at the risk of a little digression, we feel inclined to notice one important visit—the visit of Ahilyabai to Poona with the sole object of paying respects to her expiring master and his virtuous queen,⁽¹⁾ both of whom had helped Ahilyabai out of her great difficulty and thus laid her under a deep

(1) The reader would find very interesting details about the cordiality that existed between Ramabai and Ahilyabai in the "Life of Devi Ahilyabai" by Purushottam, pages 222 and 224.

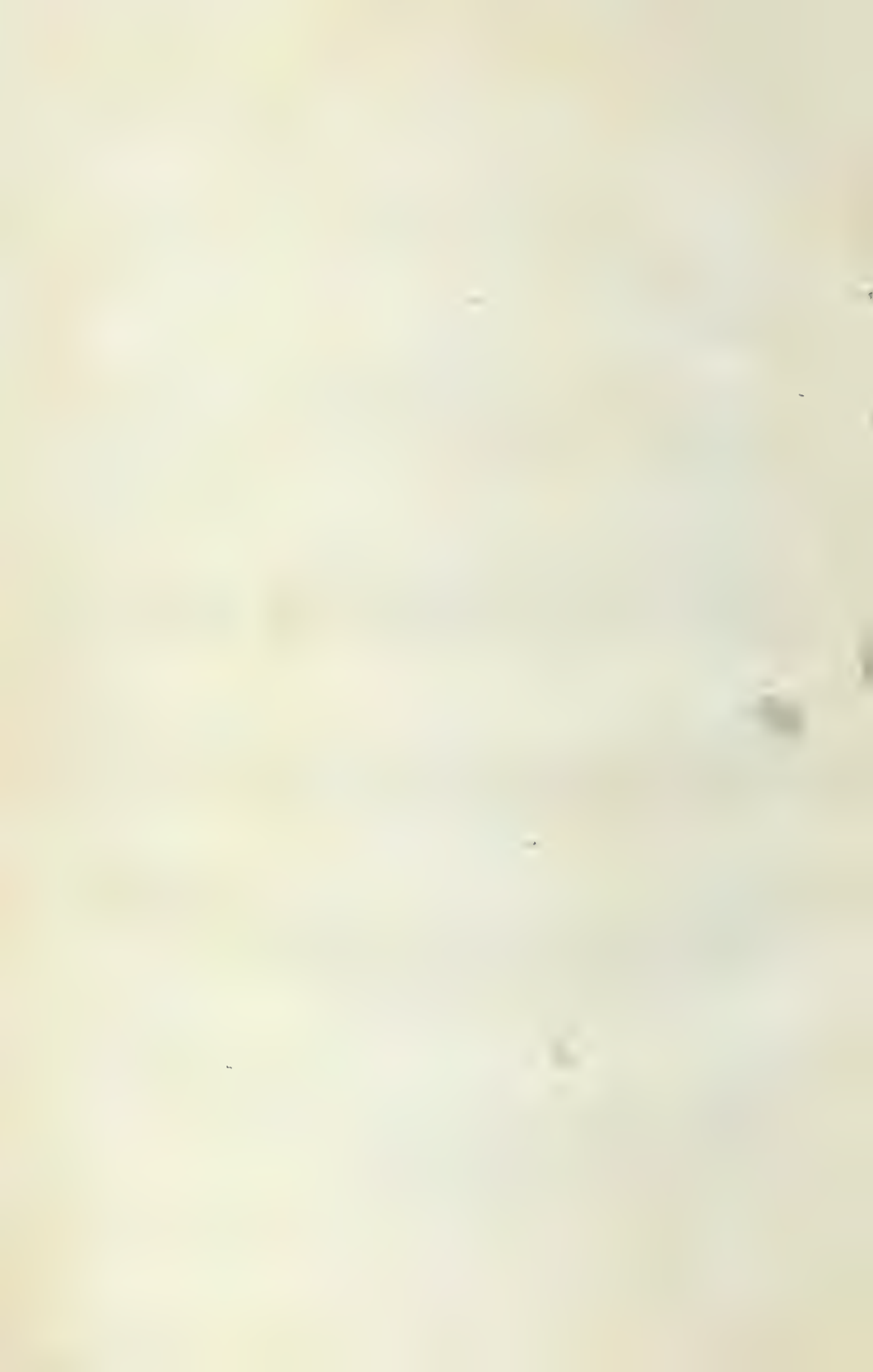
debt of gratitude. We have already seen how full of affection was the behaviour of the virtuous Ahilyabai of Indore towards the equally virtuous wife of her master. It was, therefore, considered by Ahilyabai most imperatively necessary to pay a visit to Ramabai at such a time. Ahilyabai left Indore and arrived at Poona at a time when all hopes of the great Peshwa's complete recovery to health were given up. The interview between Ramabai and Ahilyabai was most cordial and the latter tried her best to console the former. Ahilyabai advised her master's queen to take heart and bear the grief, which was about to overwhelm her, with courage and patience. But Ramabai was deaf to all such sincere yet unpleasant counsels. That virtuous queen had already made up her mind to forsake all the joys of this world and had determined like Sulochana to ascend the funeral pyre with the lord of her life. The reader may imagine the severity of the grief of the noble Ahilyabai, whose heart equally severe griefs had already parched and overwhelmed, when she found that her revered supporter and his queen—two of her most sincere well-wishers and friends⁽¹⁾—were to leave her at one

(1) A perusal of the "letters of the Maheshwar Darbar" would convince the reader about Ahilyabai's sincere devotion to the Peshwa and her enthusiastic regard for him. She had heartily supported the Ministers against Raghoba's intrigues. "आमचे वडिलापासोन आजपर्यंत श्रीमंतांच्या पायाशीं अवज्ञा घटली नाहीं. श्रीमंतींसम पुढेंही आम्हाजवळून अन्यथा विचार त्यांच्या पायाशीं घटविणार नाहीं." Such ardent devotion is indeed very rare and can only be found in truly pious hearts. *Vide* "Life of Devi Ahilyabai" by the present writer.



Devi Ahilyabai Holkar.

कें. न. न. व. का. चोतवाध
ग्रंथ संग्रह



and the same time. The virtuous Rambai, quite young in years, bore so great an affection to the lord of her life that the advice of Ahilyabai and several other chiefs and Sardars of the Peshwa were of no avail in persuading her to desist from her resolution to immolate herself on her lord's funeral pyre. Thus passed away from Maharashtra at one and the same time a heroic prince and his queen whose reputation for justice and piety and valour would never be obscured by the lapse of time and whose anxiety and exertions for the welfare of their subjects could never be surpassed and rarely be equalled by those of any other prince.⁽¹⁾ Captain Grant Duff truly says, "Madhav Rao was the protector of the weak against the strong....."

The Peshwa died at Theur on the 18th of November 1772. The scene at his death-bed was most touching and pathetic. More pathetic and touching was the advice that this young Peshwa, the pride, the joy, the hope of the Marathas, gave to his Sardars and officers, who gathered there to have the last look at the face of their dying master whose last express wish was "Release the Hindus from the tyrannical yoke of the Moghal rule and liquidate the debts to the Maratha Empire." The fact that his worthy Generals, Visaji and Mahadji, had already taken Delhi and established the Peshwa's supremacy

(1) *Vide* "Ackworth's Ballads." See also the Historical Drama by Rao Bahadur Vinayak Janardan Kirtane.

in the Moghal capital, had given this great Peshwa some satisfaction before his death. Before expiring he exhorted Raghoba to take care of Narayan Rao and to remember that "Union is strength." This Peshwa's early demise caused an irreparable loss to the Maratha Empire in India. It would be better to see what Grant Duff has to say on this point. "The death of Madhav Rao occasioned no immediate commotion ; like his own disease (Rajyakshma), it was scarcely perceptible, but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide extending tree was cut off from the stem, and the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early demise of this excellent prince." A higher tribute was scarcely paid to the memory of any sovereign. With regard to this point we say nothing more than simply repeating what we have said before, *viz.*, "A better prince" than Madhav Rao seldom ruled over an Empire."

Narayan Rao, brother of the late Peshwa, succeeded to the vacant Peshwaship. He was, to use Grant Duff's words, "particularly ambitious of military fame," but soon after his accession to the throne he was assassinated through the instigation of the wicked Anandibai, the wife of the once famous Raghoba, whose career, henceforward, served greatly

(1) This Peshwa was always anxious to have good and able men like Ram Shastri, Nana Phadnis, Hari Pant Phadke and others about him. He loved to hear good advice from any quarter and his bravery and patriotism and righteousness won for him a lasting fame in Maharashtra.

to weaken the Maratha Empire by sowing the seeds of continual disunion and dissensions in Maharashtra.⁽¹⁾

The army under Visaji Krishna Biniwale, though about to return to Poona, was busily engaged in Rohilkhand. Mahadji who could not disguise his enmity to the Rohillas, was sent by Visaji to collect the arrears of tribute from Rajputana. The Emperor Shah Alum was now swayed by different factions at Delhi, and had already displayed an unprincipled want of candour towards the Marathas, who had restored him to the throne of his forefathers. Shah Alum now found ample time to set his house in order (if order could be at all restored at Delhi) and to oppose the Marathas, whose attention was greatly diverted by the events at Poona⁽²⁾ subsequent to the death of the Peshwa. Visaji and Mahadji, however, tried their best before leaving Hindustan to soothe or intimidate the Emperor into terms, but Najeeb Khan—not the Rohilla—persuaded him to reject the Maratha proposals. It was soon discovered that the matter could not be decided without an appeal to arms. The Maratha and the Moghal armies met in the environs of Delhi, where an obstinate battle took

(1) "The only royal murder in Maratha History was that of Narayan Rao Peshwa by his uncle, Raghunath Rao."

History of the Marathas by C. A. Kincaid, Vol. I, page 208.

(2) The Peshwa's death was followed by Narayan Rao's murder and the Marathas had no time to attend to the Upper India affairs for about eleven years. Shuja-ud-Dowlah,

place between them on the 19th of December 1772, in which the Marathas were completely victorious. In this way the Maratha arms were once more crowned with success in Hindustan, when they were recalled by Narayan Rao Peshwa's orders to Poona, where Visaji arrived after the monsoon and Mahadji Sindia soon followed him.⁽¹⁾

The expedition, which was sent by Madhav Rao in 1769 under Visaji and Mahadji, had achieved a great amount of important work and greatly distinguished itself by an eminently successful career in Hindustan. The official report from the Bengal Government writing to the Court of Directors on the 10th of November 1772, says as follows :—
 “Their (of the Marathas) success had been equal to their most sanguine expectations and seemed to pave the way for further depredations to the North ; they were in the possession of the Emperor's person.

the Rohillas and the English found an opportunity to extirpate the Maratha influence in the Doabs and to keep them at bay till 1784.

(1) The feuds between Sabaji Bhosle and Mudhoji Bhosle, sons of Raghuji Bhosle, caused much discussion and trouble in the Poona Ministry and led to bitter relations between the new Peshwa Narayan Rao and his uncle Raghoba. The Bhosle affair added fuel to the fire and ultimately the assassination of Narayan Rao was hastened by these troubles and the enmity of Anandibai, Raghoba's wicked wife.

Some interesting letters have been published in the “Itihas Sangraha” regarding this sad affair, in which it

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The Marathas now seemed to have become as formidable as before the disaster at Panipat." These extracts would show how the Maratha power regained its "tone and vigour" in the reign of Madhav Rao and how it spread by rapid strides in the reign of the same prince who by his appreciation of and confidence in the abilities of his officers, had aroused that ardour and spirit of enterprise, which characterised the Military operations of the Marathas during the rule of the Great Baji Rao and the Great Shivaji Chhatrapati.

Mahadji Sindia, on his way to Poona, heard of the confusion and contentions in the Maratha capital after the assassination of Narayan Rao, whose promising career had been cut short after a reign of only seven months and whose ambition of territorial acquisition and military renown was nipped in the bud by the cruelties of the wicked Anandibai. Mahadji was rather in a state of mental suspense. He could not determine for some time what party would be in power. If Raghoba could remain as the Peshwa, Mahadji's influence would certainly be at a discount; moreover Mahadji did not approve of the conduct of Raghoba, though as a servant of the state he could not openly blame him for his atrocious deed. He was, however, soon allowed to regain his peace of mind by the turn which the state affairs took at Poona. It is enough to state here that Mahadji made up his mind at last to support the party of

is mentioned that Raghoba performed the "Prayashchitta" ceremony on 6th August 1783, for the sin attributed to him.

Nana Phadnis, towards whom Holkar was already most favourably disposed. Nana, with these two Sardars and the help of other ministers, was doing his utmost to bring about a political revolution which deserves a careful attention and a detailed description. It is a revolution of which every Maratha ought to be proud, but of which a detailed notice cannot be taken in the present work.⁽¹⁾

(1) It is termed "Barabhai-che-Karasthan," as the twelve leading statesmen of Maharashtra were identified with the affair, Nana Phadnis being the prominent amongst them. Malcolm has described it well. The Maratha writers have appreciated its importance. The English sided with Raghoba and were duly blamed by all. See Appendix.

CHAPTER V.

During the short rule of Narayan Rao, Mahadji had found some time to set his own affairs in order. But the revolution alluded to above, required him to direct his best endeavours in the interest of the party, to which he always adhered, and whose cause he had been doubly inclined to espouse at present.

While engaged in this important undertaking, Mahadji was, as future events would show, brought for the first time into contact with the English, who, after Raghoba's fall, had declared their intention of helping him, of course, with the ultimate object of weakening the Maratha Empire.⁽¹⁾ The events, that follow, are extremely interesting and worthy of being told at least with some detail, especially as Mahadji along with the Ministers at Poona, had so much to do in ensuring the success of the Confederacy, which was formed by "the illustrious twelve" with the view of ousting Raghoba from the Poona Throne.

Nana Phadnis, Sakharam Bapu, Hari Pant Phadke, and Trimbak Rao Manna Pethe brought forward a proposal to deprive Raghoba of the Poona Throne as he had caused so many feuds in the Empire and

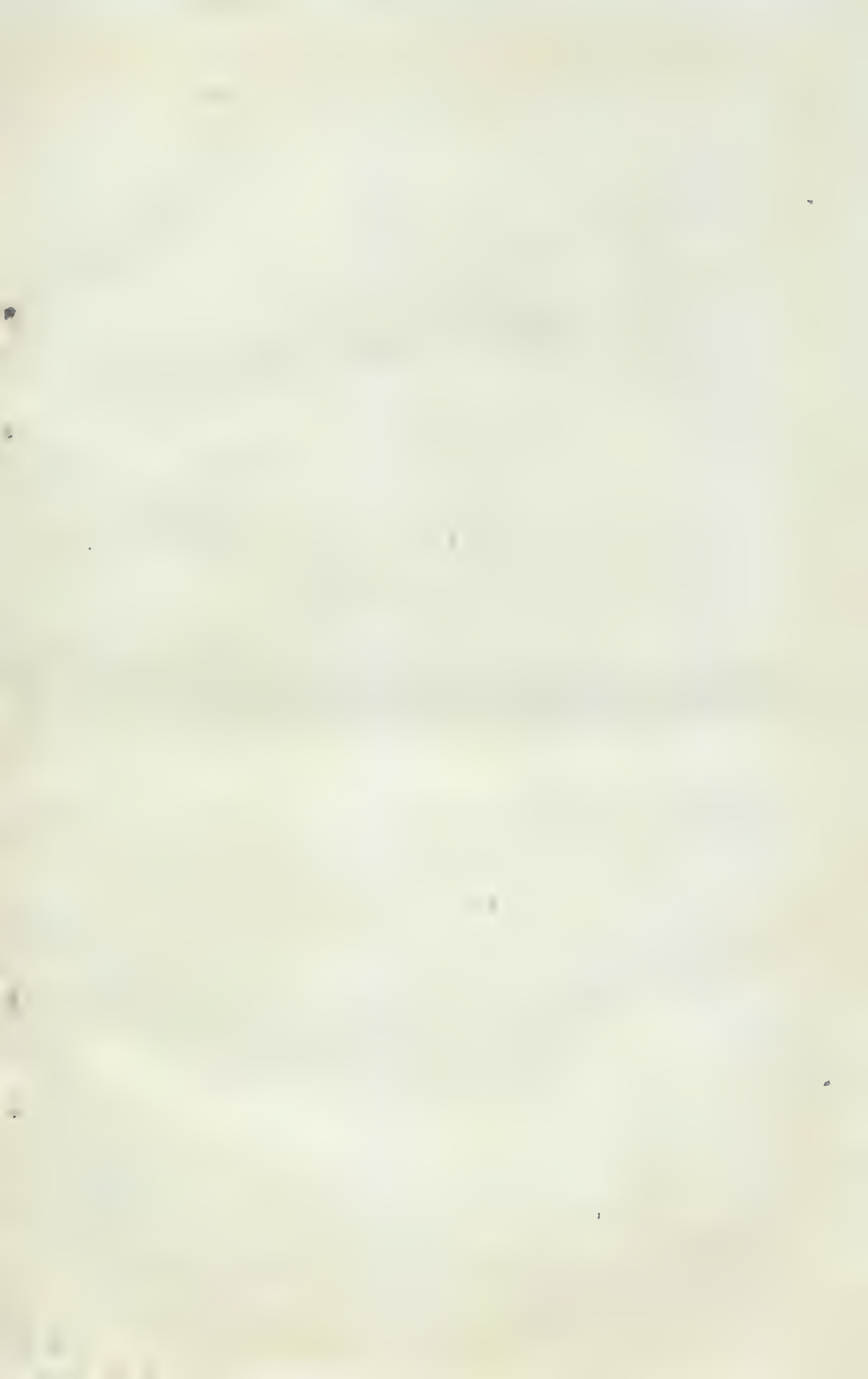
(1) See "The Marathas and the Moghals," pages 77-79, and Malcolm's "Memoirs of Central India," page 141.

committed or at least connived at the perpetration of the atrocious crime of murdering his own nephew, the youthful and promising Narayan Rao Peshwa.⁽¹⁾ They firmly determined to adhere to this plan at any hazard and made a secret vow that they would never have anything to do with Raghoba or his descendants. The skill and ability, brought by the four statesmen to bear upon the memorable transactions connected with this great political revolution, unattended with any serious violence or copious blood-shed, entitle them to the highest praise.⁽²⁾

In all there were twelve persons either ministers or generals who formed the famous confederacy to drive Raghoba from the Poona Government. Parwatibai, wife of the gallant Bhau Sahib of Panipat fame, was also favourable to their cause. Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar had already promised their co-operation with the ministers. Thus secure of help from all the quarters, Nana and Bapu issued a proclamation to the effect that the succession of Raghoba to the Peshwa's throne was unsanctioned by the Shastras and unsanctified by custom.⁽³⁾ They

(1) The famous Ram Shastri, the trusted chief justice of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, had openly charged Raghoba of murder of his nephew, the young Peshwa Narayan Rao. When Raghoba asked for Prayaschitta (absolution from the crime) Ram Shastri had the courage to say that the only remedy was “देहान्त प्रायश्चित्त” (death).

(2) Sir Alfred Lyall has duly criticised the part played by the Bombay Council and ascribed their activity to the internal motive of land-hunger. Malcolm and Lyall could not, of course, support such a cause, which History must condemn with all its might and main.





The Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao.

further declared that in their opinion it was most proper to see the Peshwaship descend to the heirs of Nana Sahib, whose happy reign was still fresh in the memories of the people of Maharashtra. These instructions were implicitly obeyed by the other Sardars, Gaikwar, Bhonsla and others. Nana and Bapu sent Gangabai, the bereaved Queen of the late Narayan Rao, to Purandar—a strong fort in the possession of the Peshwa's family from the time of Balaji Vishwanath—as she was far advanced in the state of pregnancy, and there was expected every moment a danger to her from the partisans of Raghoba. This was, indeed, a very praiseworthy course of conduct, as the hope of Maharashtra was centered in the safety of Gangabai and her child, born on the 18th of April, 1774, and named as Sawai Madhav Rao.

Thus ejected from the Peshwaship, Raghoba wandered about in search of assistance from the Bombay Government for regaining the lost position. He was at last successful in obtaining the aid of the English who sent Colonel Keatinge with a large force to help him in recovering the power at Poona. This event occurred in the spring of 1774. It is more than a pity, it is a calamity that Raghoba, who was up to this time a tower of strength to the Maratha Empire, henceforth became the chief source of its troubles and its ultimate weakness. Who could have expected such an unwise conduct from the victor of the Punjab? It is still more a matter of surprise that the

course of destruction begun by the father was zealously pursued by his unworthy son Baji Rao II who brought the Peshwaship, nay the Hindu Empire, to the ground in 1818.

To Mahadji's exertions and energy is due a great portion of the credit of the success of the party opposed to Raghoba. It cannot, therefore, be foreign to the subject of this work to take a short review of the way in which the "Confederacy of the Twelve" gained their object.⁽¹⁾ The Peshwa's complete success at Wargaon, where the English were compelled to sign such a humiliating convention as was never signed by them since the days of their first arrival in India, may be said to be the first great and memorable service that Mahadji rendered to his master. It was also the defeat of the English at Wargaon and their further humiliation in being compelled to give two British Officers⁽²⁾ as hostages to the Peshwa for the security of the performance of their engagement, that made them aware of the military power and genius of Mahadji Sindia, whose career from this time onward

(1) Raghoba's party had tried to spread defection amongst the Ministers. Bajaba Purandare and Moroba Phadnis and some others were on the point of joining Raghoba. But Nana Phadnis and Sakharum Bapu nipped the intrigue in the bud. The Nizam and Hyder Ali, who were anxious to foment the dissensions, were thus disappointed and their plans frustrated by the timely precaution of the two ministers.

(2) Mr. William G. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart were given as hostages by the Bombay Government. *Vide*

was one of continued success in Hindustan and other parts of the Peninsula.

If Raghoba had remained at Poona, it would have been impossible for the ministers to fully mature their plans. After great consultations, therefore, the Ministers Nana and Bapu with the consent of the other members of the party, came to the conclusion that it was imperatively necessary that Raghoba should be made to leave Poona on some pretence. A golden opportunity soon presented itself, which greatly benefited the ministers. The Nizam overjoyed at the confusion and dissensions at Poona, had begun to molest the Peshwa's frontier districts. This was quite unbearable to the gallant but misguided Raghoba. He led an expedition against the Nizam in which success as usual graced the Maratha arms. Nana and Bapu accompanied the expedition for some time, but returned to Poona on different prettexts. Though a warrior of no common worth Raghoba was, after all, an unwary person and a simpleton, and could not therefore fathom the deep laid plans of the farsighted ministers and the nets spread by them for his ruin.

While Raghoba was at the height of exultation after having humbled the Nizam at Bedar on the 9th of December 1773, the ministers were busy in ensuring the success of their schemes. As previously settled, Mahadji and other Sardars joined the ministers

"Marathas and Moghals" by the present writer for details about this matter.

when the proclamation alluded to above was formally issued and Raghoba was declared as a rebel and traitor.⁽¹⁾

In the year 1775, the English who had already espoused the cause of Raghoba⁽²⁾ on his promising them Salseet and other Districts, took the field against the Peshwa. In the course of the hostilities the English were completely harassed by the force under Hari Pant Phadke in the battle of Arras. Hari Pant, however, was soon called to Poona where he returned leaving a small force in Guzrat. The Governor-General in Calcutta did not approve of the proceedings of the Bombay Government, whose conduct, consequently, was severely censured by the Supreme Government.⁽³⁾ Mr. Hastings plainly told the Bombay Government that they had no right to go to war with the Peshwa and peremptorily ordered them to withdraw their forces to

(1) Sir John Malcolm has thoroughly condemned the cause of Raghoba and duly criticized the action of the Bombay Government in siding with Raghoba. *Vide* "Marathas and Moghals," page 77, and Malcolm's Central India, page 141.

(2) The reader would be disappointed to find that Raghoba, the victor of the Punjab, is entitled to no better credentials than the one given below by a scholar of Maharashtra whose opinion is at once weighty and impartial : — "राधेबादाशम पेशवाई नील कल्पिपुष्प म्हणवत."

Vide "Marathas and English" by Mr. Narsingh Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B., page 57.

(3) Sakharum Bapu had sent a very able and important Kharita to Warren Hastings, dated 29th July 1775, representing the "लबाडी" (bad faith) of the Bombay Govern-

their own garrisons. Hastings sent Colonel Upton as an agent representing the British Government to open negotiations with the Poona Government, which after a great discussion ratified the Treaty of Purandar in 1776, by the terms of which both the Governments were temporarily allowed to enjoy peace.

Mahadji Sindia was for a time absent from the Deccan during the early part of the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao's reign. The real cause of the absence is not easy to understand at this time, but (if Mr. Forrest's "Selections" are to be believed) Mahadji left the Deccan owing to some dispute between him and Sakharam Bapu regarding the payment of arrears due to the Peshwa from the Sindia. After the treaty of Purandar, however, we find Mahadji busily engaged in the service of his Master. At this time a rebellion, headed by a Kanoja Brahman, was disturbing the peace of Konkan and there is a strong reason to believe that the officers of the Bombay Government were bent on fomenting this internecine danger in the Peshwa's dominions. This pretender represented himself as Bhau Sahib escaped from the field of Panipat.¹¹ Several hundreds of people swelled the number of the pretender's followers believing in his false statements. This calamity to the Peshwa's Empire was likely to

ment in espousing the cause of Raghoba. The Governor-General strongly disapproved of the proceedings of Governor Hornby and his Council. See Appendix.

(1) The Bombay Government helped this pretender in spite of the treaty of Purandar. Governor Hornby had

gain more strength from other quarters also. But Mahadji received orders from Poona to suppress the rebellion and succeeded in nipping the danger in bud. The conduct of the Bombay Government was censurable throughout the progress of the pretender's rebellion, but Mahadji's might at last prevailed and the pretender's person was secured by Raghuji Angre who sent him in custody to Poona.

But at no distant date the Bombay Council, with the direct sanction of the Court of Directors, sided with Raghoba for opposing the views of the Regency at Poona. Hostilities, therefore, again broke out between the Marathas and the English and Mahadji's disciplined army promptly co-operated with the forces of the Peshwa's several other Sardars for resisting the unjust encroachments and interference of the Bombay Government.⁽¹⁾

But before we proceed to dwell on the Military operations, that were now to ensue, and their consequences, it is imperatively necessary to write a few words as to the state of affairs at Poona and Bombay. The Poona Regency, in spite of the written an insulting letter to the Poona Darbar. Of course, Raghoba's partisans encountered the machinations of the pretender and Amrit Rao actually went over to him. The Nizam, Hyder Ali of Mysore, and the Raja of Kolhapur found an opportunity to trouble the peace of the Peshwa's Darbar. At last the pretender was openly tried in the presence of Mr. Upton and shown to Parwatibai, who declared him to be false. He was executed on the 17th December, 1776.

(1) The Honourable Mr. V. R. Nattu has ably shown how the attempts of the Bombay Council were contrary to

frequent dangers and occasional dissensions among their ranks, was eminently successful in the realization of their views. This was very galling to the Governor Hornby, and other members of the Bombay Council, as their brother officers in other parts of India had acquired, through various means, extensive territories and great political importance, while they (the Bombay Council) had only a small extent of land under their control with little or no political significance. Land-hunger, therefore, drove the Bombay Government to try every means in their power to stir up internal dissensions in the Maratha Empire. In the meantime Moroba Dada Phadnis aided by Bajaba Purandare, Chinto Vithal and others sent overtures of help to Bombay with the view of recalling Raghoba to Poona. Without paying the least regard to the sacred treaty of Purandar,⁽¹⁾ the Bombay Council complied with the overtures. It is difficult to ascertain whether Moroba Phadnis asked for the aid from Bombay of his own accord or whether the Bombay Council induced him to take up Raghoba's

all Treaties and opposed to the rules of international law, *vide* pages 121 and 122.

(1) "The Bombay Council, smarting under the indignity which had been inflicted on them, gave the treaty of Purandar to the winds, invited Raghoba to Bombay, and settled a monthly allowance on him. The Poona Regency raved at this violation of the treaty, but their strength was weakened by discord between the aged premier Sakharam Bapu and his younger associate Nana Phadnis."—Marshman, page 185.

cause, a measure by which they very naturally hoped to weaken the Poona Ministry and then gain their object.⁽¹⁾ But whatever may be the truth in this matter, it is certain, that the Bombay Government infringed the treaty of Purandar by espousing the cause of Raghoba. It is a pity that even the Court of Directors and the supreme Government at Calcutta approved of the present conduct of Governor Hornby and his advisers.⁽²⁾ But the Bombay Council soon reaped the fruit of its unscrupulous and unfair behaviour.

That Mahadji Sindia was a perfectly loyal and devoted servant of the Peshwa had been proved,—if at all there were need for such a proof,—beyond doubt

It is a great pity that four months after the signing of the treaty, the Court of Directors sent a despatch, authorising violation of the treaty.

(1) Sir Alfred Lyall has condemned, though in mild terms, the measures adopted by Governor Hornby and his councillors for acquiring Sasti Wasai and others, *vide* "Expansion of the British Dominion in India" by Sir Alfred Lyall.

(2) *Vide* Appendix A of Mr. Natu's "Life of Mahadji Sindia" for interesting details, pages 280-285. Mr. Natu's observations are sound and the History of this period well shows how the forces were working against the principles of international law.

(3) "The bewildered Carnac made overtures to Nana Phadnis, who demanded the surrender of Raghoba before he would listen to terms. The Commissioner would have complied with the demand had he not saved them from this infamy by delivering himself up to Sindia and under the auspices of that chief, the British army was rescued from destruction....." page 186, Marshman.

by the action that Sindia took against Kollhapur. Notwithstanding that Kollhapur was a Maratha State under a descendant of Shivaji, Mahadji in accordance with the instructions of his master the Peshwa, at once proceeded to the city and laid siege to it. A heavy fire was opened on the city, which surrendered without any great resistance. The Raja submitted to the terms proposed by the Poona Darbar and acknowledged the supremacy of the Peshwa's Government. The Raja was compelled by Mahadji to yield a sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees for defraying the expenses of war and give a promise that no more disturbance to the Maratha dominions would be countenanced by the Kollhapur State, and lastly to restore the territory of the Patwardhan's to its real owners. By humbling the Raja of Kollhapur Mahadji warded off the remote danger in the form of an invasion by Haider who was likely to be joined by the Kollhapur Darbar, which was always eager to avail itself of any occasion to disturb the Poona Darbar.

The Poona Ministers arrived at the conclusion that the Bombay Council were seriously bent on supporting Raghoba.⁽¹⁾ It was under these circumstances, quite obvious, that there was no other alternative left for the Marathas except having recourse to an appeal to arms. Preparations began on both sides

(1) The letters that Nana Phadnis had written at this time to Mahadji Sindia were of utmost importance. They describe the policy adopted by Governor Hornby in detail

against the coming struggle. Mahadji and Nana decided to oppose the English at any risk, unless they delivered Raghoba in the hands of the Marathas.

The English army was to set out on its march to Poona after the monsoon, apparently with the intention of threatening the Regency at the Maratha Capital, of which Mahadji was also a member. The Marathas, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to make themselves ready to ward off the blow aimed at them by the ill-fated Governor of Bombay, Mr. Hornby.⁽¹⁾

The skill, farsightedness, and energy, displayed by Nana and Mahadji during the early period of preparations against the invasion from Bombay and throughout the course of the war, deserve the high eulogy that is generally bestowed upon them. Nana's behaviour was full of moderation and vigilance, while that of Mahadji energetic and undaunted. With a laudable promptitude Mahadji detached Holkar from the party headed by Moroba Phadnis and sent the latter into custody at Nagar. This measure augmented

and suggest remedies to counteract the evils that were to overwhelm the Maratha Empire. Nana insisted that the root of all trouble Raghoba should be kept under strict guard.

(1) "The subordinate presidencies at this time were administered by very incapable men.....Broadly speaking, it may be said that they succeeded in embroiling themselves in wars with almost all the Native powers of Southern and Central India, till in 1780 the foundations of British Rule were shaken to their base"—Historical Geography of India by Roberts, page 191.

the strength of Mahadji's party, while it went a long way to prevent Moroba from making any further mischief. Thus the prime-mover of Raghoba's party,⁽¹⁾ the centre of his hopes and aspirations, was summarily disposed of through the timely precaution of Mahadji Sindia, who, henceforward, took up the cause of his master, Sawai Madhav Rao, with great earnestness and zeal. After performing this valuable service, Mahadji set about the task of crippling the power and influence of Sakharam Bapu, a wise and farsighted but exceedingly avaricious and occasionally misguided statesman. Mahadji was fully acquainted with Bapu and was aware of the extent of his power for working harm to Sindia's party. Consequently Sindia kept Bapu under the constant control of his sentinels. The party of Raghoba⁽²⁾ was in this way considerably weakened, of course, though not finally dispersed. With it, the expectations of Raghoba's return to the Poona Government for a time melted away and

(1) Nana Phadnis strongly advised Sindia to first secure the person of Raghoba, for until Raghoba's movements were checked, his machinations and intrigues would not cease. Raghoba was, in fact, a tool in the hands of Bombay Government and they utilized him for gaining their ulterior aims. Sindia and Holkar were at first lenient to Raghoba.

(2) "The Court of Directors unexpectedly and rather inconsistently—in view of their decided opinion against entanglements with Native Powers—disapproved of the Treaty of Purandar (March 1776) and in 1778 Hastings with their full consent renewed the alliance with Raghoba. On this occasion Francis seems decidedly to have been for once on the right, and Hastings and the Court on the wrong side."—Roberts, page 192.

never afterwards were his Poona partisans allowed to rise to power. The credit of all these important transactions is solely due to the might of Sindia's arms as well as Nana's head.⁽¹⁾

The veteran Maratha soldiers, who had fought successfully and humbled Hyder Ali and the Rohillas, were once more called upon to show to the world the stuff they were made of. They had now to cope with an enemy altogether of a different type from the "lion of Mysore" or the Rohillas. That enemy had behind him for his support the whole strength of the British nation. But the united Marathas, anxious with zeal, integrity and unity of purpose to serve their master, were not afraid of any power. Their minds had been joined together in the pursuit of a common aim by such masterminds as Nana and Mahadji and so long as this union lasted, the Maratha Power was impregnable and unassailable. Mahadji Sindia, Hari Pant Phadke, Tukoji Holkar, Panse, and the rest of the Peshwa's Generals divided the duties among themselves and each took up his task with earnestness and zeal. But the chief burden of defence fell upon Mahadji, Hari Pant Phadke, Panse and Holkar, under whom the Peshwa's forces fought bravely and greatly distinguished themselves by making several successful onsets on the British Army, that

(1) For details about this interesting period. See Wasudeo Waman Shastri Khare's *Life of Nana Phadnis and Nana's Sindia* pages 158 to 161, and "Letters, Memoranda, etc.," by Rao Bahadur Sane.

was on its march to the Peshwa's capital. At last complete victory seemed to be on the point of crowning the Maratha Military operations.⁽¹⁾ The English Army began to show signs of distress and exhaustion. They were broken down by the incessant attacks of the Marathas and the terrible discharge of the Maratha artillery. Captain Stuart⁽²⁾ fell in the course of an action. It is said he was busy in inspecting from the top of a tree the position of the Marathas, when a Maratha Gunner, at the instance of his superior officers, shot the captain dead on the post.

While the war between the Marathas and the English was going on in this way in the Boreghat, news was received by the English that reinforcements were sent by Nana Phadnis from Purandar and that the Marathas had thus obtained a fresh accession of strength. The Maratha forces, after being joined by the troops from Purandar, effectively harassed the English by cutting off their supplies and by incessant attacks. Now the situation of the Bombay Army became literally miserable and they were, to add to their misfortune, hardpressed and surrounded by large parties of the Marathas, the number of which

(1) "It was during the debates on the Maratha war that news arrived in India of the great disaster to British Arms in North America—Burgoyne's surrender to General Gates at Saratoga (1777). Francis made the news an argument against hazarding offensive operations"—Roberts. Hastings treated the argument of Francis with contempt.

(2) The Maratha Bakhars call him "Ishtur" and the Honourable Mr. C. A. Kincaid has immortalized this officer's name by his very interesting book "Ishtur Fakda."

was swelling every day. The Maratha attacks on the English Army continued unceasingly and the Peshwa's artillery under the able management of Panse made havoc among the ranks of the English Army. The sufferings of the British troops reached their highest pitch and they saw no way out of the difficulty except by managing to get entrance into the town of Wargaoon. This was a fatal mistake committed by the English, though they got a temporary relief thereby. It was in this town that they were besieged by the Marathas and as we would have to mention further on, finally vanquished and compelled to submit to a humiliating treaty.⁽¹⁾

On the 13th of February 1779, the Marathas opened a heavy cannonade on the town of Wargaoon⁽²⁾ and made a great havoc in the British Army. Wargaoon was not a strongly fortified place and consequently the English Army could not protect themselves from the harm done by the terrible

(1) The following words of Mahadji Sindia to Mr Farmer, who was entreating for peace are remarkable:—*कहाई करण्यवदल वाऊ दावधु नका. व्यावदलनी आपगाला मुझीच पर्वी नार्ही, परंतु ज्या अर्थी तुम्ही कर्नल अपटन यानें पुरंदर येथें केलेला तह मोटून पेशव्यांचे मुकुबावर ग्वारी केली व मराठ्यांचे लावो रुपयांचे नुकसान केलें, त्या अर्थी याच ठिकाणी सर्वांस तह केल्याबरीच तुम्हास आम्ही परत जाऊ देणार नाहीं.*"

(2) "...a Convention which for the first time obliged the British Government to give hostages to a victorious enemy—Bombay was now at the mercy of the Marathas, and its preservation depended on the arrival of General Goddard's expedition from Hindustan." Marshman.

fire opened by the Maratha guns. The failure of provisions and the fear of still more strenuous attacks from the Marathas, totally unnerved the British Officers in command of the British troops. All around the British camp there was disappointment and dejection. Resistance began to grow weak. This circumstance gave a fresh impetus to the Marathas for renewing the attacks with greater determination and valour. This fresh activity on the side of the Marathas gave a final death-blow to the cherished hopes and aspirations of the Bombay expedition, sent with the direct sanction of the Court of Directors by Hornby and his councillors, ostensibly for the purposes of aiding Raghoba in regaining the Peshwa's throne, but in reality to acquire territorial advantages by fomenting strifes in the Peshwa's family, and thus weakening the Maratha Empire. The English Army grew dispirited and at last came to the conclusion that their holding out any longer in their present condition would be of no avail. The Commanding Officer also became greatly alarmed and determined to submit to the inevitable. A safe retreat to Bombay in the face of such overwhelming odds, was deemed impossible.⁽¹⁾ There was no other alternative but to surrender and accept any treaty

(1) Colonel Carnac addressed a letter to Tukoji Holkar, but it produced no beneficial result. Raghoba's deep-rooted mischief was still going on, and on the 10th of January 1779, Raghoba sent letters to Sindia and Holkar, describing the Poona Ministers as "rebels" and requesting them to support his cause! Mahadji behaved with real patriotism and farsight.

that the Marathas would dictate. Mr. Farmer was accordingly sent by the Commander of the British Forces to make overtures of peace to the Marathas. The Marathas demanded the person of Raghoba as the preliminary step to all peaceful negotiations. Raghoba, the main cause of all the present troubles both to himself and to his allies, the English, was thrown overboard by the Bombay Government and all connection with him was abandoned. Finding that the turn of fortune was totally against him, Raghoba, at length, delivered himself into the hands of Mahadji Sindia.¹ Nana and Mahadji, both of whom were now invested with peculiar political importance by the triumph of their attempts and were, in fact, the most conspicuous personages in the Maratha Empire, plainly gave the English envoy to understand that no peace could be made unless the Bombay Council abandoned every claim to the territory acquired by the East India Company since the death of the Great Madhav Rao, as well as to the revenue collected by the Company's Officers in Salsette and Surat. This message was communicated to the Bombay Council, who sent a reply to the effect that they had been unable to enter on any treaty

(1) It was settled that Raghoba should be kept at immense distance from Maharashtra, into the heart of Bundelkhand at Zamsi. Mahadji Sindia sent him there under his escort and then took prompt measures to place Sakharam Bapu into custody at Sinbagarh. The incriminating letters written by Bapu were shown to him by Mahadji in the presence of Nana Phadnis and Hari Pant Phadke.

with the Peshwa's Government without the formal sanction of the Governor-General in Council. "You have power to break a treaty with the Peshwa, but you are unable to make one with his Government without the Governor-General's sanction," said Mahadji Sindia to the British envoy. This cutting and sharp reply, pregnant with a deep meaning, was quite sufficient to indicate the attitude of the Marathas towards the Bombay Council. The envoy, Mr. Farmer, was silenced by Sindia's reply and it required no great efforts to imagine what was now in store for the British Officers and soldiers hemmed in in the town of Wargao.⁽¹⁾

The English now fully became aware of the extent of the danger that awaited them. They, therefore, tried to secure Mahadji Sindia in their favour by any means. They opened a friendly negotiation with Sindia and paid him particular attention throughout the transactions that followed afterwards. But Mahadji disappointed the English and baffled their hopes. Sindia, whose policy it was to be always one with his master as well as to further his own views of aggrandisement, received Mr. Holmes, the English envoy, in the Maratha Camp, but

(1) Mahadji Sindia appreciated the orderly manner, in which the English Army retreated and it was at this time that Sindia formed plans of having a regular army, well-disciplined and well-equipped. The idea of the "Invincible Brigades of Hindustan" arose at this time into Mahadji's mind and he carried it out at no distant date.

in no way he desisted from taking every advantage of the condition in which the English were placed at this time through their own greed and land-hunger.⁽¹⁾ An attempt on the part of an Indian Historian to describe the misery and humiliation of the English at this time, would be taken for an indirect praise of the Marathas and their successful operations during the Bore Ghat expedition.⁽²⁾ It would under these circumstances be more appropriate to see what Grant Duff has to say in this connection. "The English were obliged," says Grant Duff, the Historian of the Marathas, "to purchase Sindia's favour by a private promise to bestow on him the English share of Bharoch, beside a sum of Rs. 41,000 in presents to his servants. The Committee were so completely humbled that they viewed with gratitude the kindness of Sindia in suffering the army to depart; they were obliged to give hostages, Mr. William Gamal Farmer and Lieutenant Charles Stewart, as a security for the performance of their engagement." These words of Grant Duff give rise to many probable surmises as to the way in which Sindia was propitiated but politics have a morality of their own and political

(1) *Vide* Sir Alfred Lyall's Criticism of the conduct of the Bombay Council at this time.

(2) The Maratha records are unanimous in their eulogy of Sindia's patriotic views at this time. Though Sindia made a separate treaty with the English, his deep interest in the cause of Maharashtra and the side of Sawai Madhav Rao Peshwa was unshaken. Sindia used great political skill in his dealings with the different forces that were at work.

transactions cannot always stand the test of rigid morality.¹ The words of the worthy historian are enough to indicate the extent of the distress and humiliation of the Bombay Council at that time. It was no wonder then that to escape from such an unwelcome situation, they were compelled to agree to any terms that the Marathas were pleased to dictate. It should be mentioned, *en passant*, that but for Mahadji, the English Army would certainly have undergone a great deal of more hardship from the Maratha Army, which was also reinforced, and orders were also received from the Regency at Poona to the effect that the English should be so completely humbled that they might not again raise their heads with the view of disturbing the peace of the Peshwa's Government² by helping Raghoba or any other Pretender.

(1) The Historian Thornton hardly speaks too strongly when he says that the moral atmosphere of Madras appears at this time to have been pestilential. Was not the same remark applicable to Bombay of Governor Hornby's time? *Vide* Thornton's History of the British Empire in India, Vol. II., page 247.

(2) One feels disgusted with the part played repeatedly by Raghoba and his partisans, helped by the Bombay Council under Hornby's guidance. Although the hostilities had ceased after the Convention of Wargaoon and Raghoba was sent over to Sindia, still the wretched intriguer managed to escape from Sindia's custody and went to Surat to again solicit aid from the East India Company. It is a pity that General Goddard again received Raghoba and his overtures with eagerness and helped his cause in spite of the Convention of Wargaoon? More comment is certainly unnecessary.

The defeat of the English Army at Talegaon was a cause of great humiliation to the Bombay Council, whose endeavours were not attended with any semblance of success, and who had, moreover, undertaken to carry on the war with the Marathas against the wish and order of the Governor-General. Defeat or disappointment in a self-accepted work leads to a greater mental disquietude and distress than the failure in a business, imposed upon by others. The Governor-General had strongly brought it to the notice of the Bombay Government that they had no power to go to war with any state without the direct sanction of the supreme Government. The Local Government had resented such an order, which limited their power and obtained the direct sanction of the Court of the Directors for commencing hostilities in the Peshwa's dominions.¹ By an adverse turn of fortune they were defeated in their plans and had the disgrace, of signing the Convention of Wargaoon in 1779. This shock was keenly felt by Governor Hornby and his councillors, because in India the English had never been, up to this time, familiarised with such a disgraceful defeat. It was within the pale of probability that the Maratha

(1) "These open scandals and constant changes in the Government naturally resulted in an inconsistent and chaotic policy which soon entangled the presidency in the war already raging on the Western side of India. The Nizam had long looked with growing disfavour on our alliance with Raghoba, but he made no movement till the Madras Government tactlessly offended him."—Roberts, page 195.

operations against the English would have been carried on still further and even the centre of the English Power in Western India would have been attacked, but the Bombay Government had, to use Grant Duff's words, already "purchased Sindia's favour," and any more danger to them was not expected now. Sindia's help to the English was, at this time of their distress, of the greatest value. But for Mahadji, the British influence in Western India would have been certainly greatly undermined, if not totally annihilated.

The victory at Talegaon⁽¹⁾ raised the reputation of the Peshwa's Government generally and Mahadji Sindia is entitled to claim a considerable portion of the fame. That such a mighty plan should be pursued in spite of the greatest resistance from such a power as the English by the Ministers and Generals of the Peshwa's Government with a most laudable union amongst them, till it was crowned with a glorious success reflects the greatest credit on the Peshwa's Ministers and Generals. There was no strong Peshwa on the throne to extort submission from his subordinate chiefs. There were persons

(1) After the termination, temporary as it was, Mahadji went to Baramati to celebrate the marriage of his daughter Bahabai with Ladoji Narsingh Rao Deshmukh. Nana Phadnis returned to the fort of Purandar. Sakharam Bapu had the satisfaction of marrying his daughter at Wai before his discomfiture and detention was brought about by Sindia at no distant date,

amongst the Regency like Nana and Mahadji whose views, though tending to keep a general union, were sometimes opposed to one another. That Mahadji and Nana with the rest of the members of the Regency should come forward for the defence of their "infant sovereign's Empire" reflects the greatest credit on their patriotism and far-sighted policy. The Maratha history during this period is of the greatest interest and from the birth of the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan down to the time when he assumed the reins of Government, the policy of the members of the Regency is entirely that of a patriotic Cabinet in the Western hemisphere.⁽¹⁾

After the cessation of hostilities and the signing of the well-known Convention, Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Sindia and other important personages of the Maratha Empire, assembled in a grand Darbar, in order to hold deliberations about the settlement of many urgent affairs of the State. Nana took advantage of this opportunity by asking the English Officer, who was also required to attend the Darbar, the reasons for the unwise and impolitic conduct pursued by the English Company in espousing the cause of Raghoba who had so cruelly murdered his nephew and upset the Government of the Peshwa.

(1) The first Maratha War (1775-1782) was an undoubted triumph of the Regency of the Twelve Ministers. Right and Justice lay on their side, as is admitted even by Malcolm and Lyall and others. The Maratha records contain glowing and graphic details which deserve perusal.

The weighty words that were uttered by the illustrious statesman are worthy of notice and so they are transcribed here: "The Maharaja of Satara," said Nana, "is the sovereign of the Maratha Empire, the Peshwa acts on his behalf. To set up another Peshwa when there is none on the throne or to depose him when he misbehaves is the province of these chiefs and Sardars of the realm who have done so much in raising this Empire. Raghoba has lately perpetrated the atrocious crime of murdering his own nephew, the Peshwa Narayan Rao. He has, therefore, been deposed by our unanimous voice and the administration is carried on in the name of the new Peshwa, Sawai Madhav Rao. Moreover, the Peshwa's Sardars—Sindia, Holkar, Patwardhan, Phadke and others—are prepared to protect this Empire in spite of all resistance. Such being then the condition of affairs, what justification can you claim in siding with the rebel Raghoba, and sending an army against the Marathas?" On what relation do you stand with the Maratha Empire and how can you account for the support you gave to one who is disloyal towards us?" The English Officer humbly replied that the

(1) See "Historical Anecdotes," by D. G. H. Warren Hastings could find no ground to defend the Bombay Government. The activity of Governor Hornby and his council was abnormal and he made much capital out of the reception accorded to St. Lubin by Nana Phadnis and misrepresented the affair to Warren Hastings as an attempt by the Poona Ministers to solicit the help of the French.

Bombay Council had committed an unfortunate blunder which would never be repeated.⁽¹⁾

Mahadji Sindia's power and influence were greatly augmented by the glorious success at Talegaon Dabhade. The English began to court his favour in order to retrieve their affairs. Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bombay, wrote an elaborate minute and placed it before the Council, in which he plainly expressed his opinion that Sindia's friendship was worth having, as that chief had indicated on several occasions, an aversion to the French supremacy. But it must be borne in mind that though Mr. Hornby's opinion was, to a certain extent, quite correct, still Mahadji, as a supporter of Nana's party, could never be wholly a friend to the English, though he admired their military discipline and their general behaviour on the battle field. At all events it is now quite on the cards that the English were not able to detach Mahadji from the Maratha Confederacy, which had the Peshwa at its head.⁽²⁾ As future

(1) "The fortunes of the English in India had fallen to their lowest water-mark. Nor were the dangers from the Indian powers the only ones: France had declared war in 1778 and the French were known to be preparing a formidable expedition from home, hoping to recover their old prestige by fishing in the troubled Deccan waters. There could be little hope of help from England, now standing desperately at bay and confronting a coalition of France, Spain, Holland and the revolting American states"—Sir Alfred Lyall.

(2) Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar appear to have somewhat relaxed in their operations against the English in

events would show, he followed a patriotic course in trying to make the Maratha power so united and strong as to be able to resist the encroachments of the English, but at the same time, he did not commit any acts of open hostility to the English unless he was confident that success would grace his arms even if he went against the views of the British Government. His strenuous efforts at Wargaon bear witness to this fact and it may be said without fear of contradiction that while the success at Wargaon was a fresh stimulus to the Maratha Power, the ambitious designs of the Bombay Council to conquer territories—just as their friends had done in Bengal and Madras Presidencies—were for a long time to come completely disconcerted and the credit of all this is due entirely to Mahadji and his supporter, Nana Phadnis.⁽¹⁾

Even after these operations were over, Mahadji was not allowed to enjoy any rest. General Goddard, who enjoyed the complete confidence of Warren Hastings, was appointed to the command of the Bengal army that was sent by the Governor-General to support the Bombay Council in place of

Guzerat, where General Goddard took Dabhoi on the 18th January 1780 and Ahmadabad on the 10th February of the same year. Nana Phadnis did not relish this apathy. The Gaekwar Fate Sing made a separate treaty with Goddard on 28th January 1780, and thus showed his antipathy to the Poona Government.

(1) The letters that Nana Phadnis wrote to Ahilya Bai Holkar and Mahadji Sindia are extremely interesting. Partly their tone is conciliatory, partly peremptory, but on the whole

Colonel Leslie whose dilatory movements were censured. Goddard was instructed to negotiate with Nana Phadnis¹ a peace on the terms of the Treaty of Purandar with an additional clause to exclude the French from all connection with the Maratha dominions. Nana demanded the surrender of Salsette and the person of Raghoba before he agreed to the proposed treaty. Goddard would not comply with such preliminaries to a peace with the Government of the Peshwa. Hostilities, therefore, soon began between the two powers and Mahadji, as a partisan of Nana Phadnis, prepared himself to take the field against the General and was also joined by Tukoji Holkar, this combined army amounting to 15,000 horse.⁽¹⁾

Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar proceeded to check the progress of General Goddard in Guzerat. They forded the river Narmada on the 29th February 1780 and directed their march towards Baroda. Goddard also advanced to give them battle, but it

they breathe a spirit of sincere patriotism and noble call to duty. Sindia rose to the occasion and Ahilya Bai was equally ready to send Tukoji Holkar with due preparations to the scene of action.

(1) A rumour was afloat at this time that Sindia was paid fifty lakhs of rupees by the "Calcuttaker" (the English) and that Sindia had therefore withdrawn from Nana Phadnis' party. It was a false report and the only ground which could have given it an appearance of truth was probably the fact that for some time Sindia had relaxed his activity. *Vide* "Letter, Memoranda, etc," page 227.

was the intention of Mahadji to delay operations and thus gain, if possible, an advantage. Mahadji therefore made no haste in evincing any hostility to the English. He further tried to confirm his friendly intentions towards Goddard by setting Farmer and Stewart at liberty. The two hostages then left the Camp of Sindia and joined General Goddard on the 9th March 1780. Goddard acknowledged Sindia's kindness but refrained from according to any proposal of alliance. He also allowed Sindia three days from the time his agent left the English camp to declare his intentions definitely, which, at last, were made known to the English General on the 16th March 1780. The terms proposed by Sindia were : "(1) that when formerly Raghoba was at Talegaon after the return of the English Army to Bombay, an agreement had been entered into between him and Sindia and written engagements had been mutually exchanged, for its performance, when Raghoba had consented to relinquish all claims to any share in the administration at Poona and retire towards Zansi where he should receive an allowance of twelve lakhs of rupees per annum ; (2) that the Sica (seal of State) should continue in the name of the young Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan Rao ; (3) and that Baji Rao, the son of Raghoba, should be appointed the Peshwa's Diwan, but as he was too young to transact the business of the office himself, being only four years of age, the care and management of it should be left entirely to Sindia. He now* therefore proposed that Raghoba

should return to Zansi and the young Baji Rao should accompany him to Poona." Goddard did not feel inclined to consent to these proposals and hence the negotiations terminated.⁽¹⁾

It now appeared to Mahadji that nothing but an appeal to arms would settle the question. He therefore began to make preparations on a large scale for meeting the exigencies that were now expected to approach. He sent his heavy baggage into the fort

(1) About this time Hyder Ali had made extensive preparations and began hostilities against the English in a spirited manner. This was really a serious affair and proved as a great check to the English operations in Maharashtra.

The hostile attitude of Hyder Ali also induced the English to desire for peace with the Marathas. Accordingly Mr. Weatherston came to Poona from Bombay to negotiate peace and Warren Hastings sent Mr. Anderson to Sindia for the same purpose. Peace, however, could not be concluded until General Goddard's army was fully harassed and his spirit had broken down at Panwel. The reader would find this complicated period of the first Maratha war (1775-1782) rather tedious, but it is so important that several details could not be omitted without impairing the interest of the narrative.

".....It had long been a maxim in French policy that the superiority of England could only be effectually reduced by the capture of her Eastern possessions and this principle appears to have been warranted by historical fact, since the commercial ascendancy of this country and the decline of Holland may be traced with precision to the state of their Indian connexions.....This was the primary motive of the invasion of Egypt by a commander who affected to set Alexander before him as his model:....."

Thorn's "Memoir of the war in India," page 30.

of Pawangad, which was in his possession, and armed himself against the coming danger in the best way he could. No great Military operations, however, took place. Mahadji had some skirmishes with the English army under General Goddard, but neither of the two combatants had any reason to claim victory. On the 11th of December 1780, Goddard took Bassein, the reduction of which was severely felt by Nana Phadnis, who immediately set about the task of concerting measures for preventing the systematic depredations of General Goddard.

At this time a most important event, which deserves to be noticed here, took place. The English Government received the alarming intelligence of an extensive confederacy against the British power in India. The Marathas, the Nizams of Hyderabad, and Hyder Ali were the confederate powers. The plans of operations were also settled and the respective duties were divided amongst the confederate chiefs according to their strength.—(a) Mahadji Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and Bhosle of Nagpur were to conquer all the territories as far as Calcutta. (b) The Nizam, Hyder Ali and the French undertook the subjugation of the Madras Presidency. (c) The Peshwa's Government accepted the task of extirpating the power of the Bombay Council. It is believed that Nana Phadnis was the contriver of this grand confederacy against the English rule in India. But Grant Duff says that Nizam Ali, the then Nizam of Hyderabad, was its principal promoter.

There is, however, no doubt about the fact that in this grand undertaking both Nizam Ali and Nana Phadnis had shown great interest and both of them may be said to have contrived this gigantic plan of driving the East India Company from India. It is now well-known that there existed a close and intimate friendship between Nana Phadnis and the Nizam of Hyderabad. A constant correspondence was kept up by them and each took the advice of the other in important political matters. The intelligence of this danger to British power was received by Warren Hastings, who was much alarmed and obliged to sue for peace although the English arms were temporarily victorious at Bassein.

An advantageous peace could not be concluded in the way in which Hastings¹¹ desired, as Nana clung fast to the terms which he had already proposed. General Goddard, therefore, resolved on proceeding to Poona for frightening the ministers into obedience and thus fulfilling the desire of the Governor-General. In accordance with that view, he marched with a large army in the direction of the Maratha Capital and ascended the Bore Ghat, where he was warmly received by the Maratha forces under the command of Parsharam Bhau Patwardhan, Haripant Phadke, and

(1) ".....Hastings had in some measure brought these troubles upon himself, for the Indian complications sprang mainly from the ill-judged renewal of the alliance with Raghoba in 1778, which he had only succeeded in carrying by the exercise of his casting vote."—Roberts, page 197.

Tukoji Holkar. The English army was defeated in the April of 1781 by the Marathas and General Goddard's retreat was made extremely difficult and dangerous. Throughout the General's retreat from Kolhapur to Choul his forces were completely harassed by the Marathas, who obtained enormous stores. Goddard's distress reached its zenith at Panwel and during the retreat his army, according to Grant Duff, "sustained a heavy loss." Thus the English were, in every way, disappointed in the Deccan, as their endeavours in that quarter had invariably failed to produce any important results.⁽¹⁾

Finding that their efforts in Maharashtra were unattended with any substantial political advantages, the English resolved to attack Mahadji in his own dominions in Malwa and thus divert his attention and interest in the Maratha Country. The Governor-General and his Council came to the determination that Mahadji was the principal promoter of the hostilities that frequently sprang up between the Poona Darbar and the English Government. Moreover the unsuccessful endeavours of the British Government to curb the Maratha Power in the Deccan induced the Governor-General to transfer the scene of operations to Malwa and try for success there. The

(1) ".....He was incessantly attacked by the Marathas, and, being vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 horse, was obliged to retreat to Bombay with the loss of 450 of his troops, the only reverse Goddard experienced in his victorious career"—Marshman, page 189.

object of such a diversion and change of policy was that Mahadji Sindia, the principal promoter of the frequent hostilities, should become the greatest sufferer by the war. Mr. Hastings also endeavoured by fair means or foul to detach Bhosle of Nagpur from the Maratha Confederacy.¹¹ In this way the Governor-General was doing his utmost to defeat the schemes of Mahadji, who had done a signal service to the British Government by saving the lives of the British Army at Wargaon. But we shall find from the coming paragraphs that Sindia was more than a match for Mr. Hastings.

Intelligence of all these deep-laid designs of the Governor-General was soon received by Mahadji, who, possessed as he was of great resources—both physical and mental—girded up his loins at once to cope with the coming danger.¹² He made up his mind to battle

(1) "The Raja of Nagpur sent his son, Chimmaji, with 30,000 troops to Cuttack, but he was lukewarm in the cause of the allies, and loitered seven months on the road.....He accepted the offer of sixteen lakhs of rupees which Hastings made him on condition of his withdrawing from the confederacy. Hastings was thus enabled to buy off the most formidable member of the league and to save Bengal....."—Marshman.

(2) "Very extensive plans were made by the English to spread defection amongst the Marathas and to bring about a bitter enmity between Mahadji Sindia and Nana Phadnis, but Nana anticipated and counteracted all these nets of diplomacy with uncommon ability and wisdom, of which there is undoubted proof in his innumerable letters written at this time. Some letters are given in the Appendix to this work, from which our readers would be able to judge for

the views of the East India Company, who had determined to make Sindia a sufferer by carrying on hostilities in the heart of his extensive possessions in Malwa. Apprised previously of all these plans of his enemy, Sindia went in the direction of Seronj, where Colonel Canac had already arrived with the force on the 16th of February 1781, and completely surrounded the army under the command of the Colonel. Mahadji cut off the supplies of the invading army, which consequently underwent great hardship. For seven days continually, the English force was incessantly harassed by the famous artillery of Sindia. The failure of provisions unnerved the British soldiers. The attacks increased every day in their destructive character and the invading force was unable to work any harm to Mahadji's possession in Malwa.¹ For some time, at least, Sindia baffled the hopes of his enemies and made them hopeless of success in their object of raising disturbances in Mahadji's territories.

themselves that Nana Phadnis, whom his English contemporaries have admired in the highest terms, was a statesman of the first rank and a true patriot. *Vide* "Letters, Memorandum, etc."

(1) "Col. Canac's camp was reduced to a state of starvation, and he would have been obliged to surrender had not Captain Bruce, who had distinguished himself at Gwalior, made a vigorous attack on Sindia's camp during the night. The surprise was complete and he lost elephants, horses, baggage, and men, but above all his reputation, while the crest of his rival, Holkar, was elevated by a successful attack on General Goddard."—Marshman.

Sindia, perhaps, was a little elated with the success, which crowned his arms in the previous actions. It will be seen in the following pages that in moments of victory, Mahadji occasionally was off his guard and allowed his enemies to take advantage of him. But the valuable qualities of Sindia's head and heart shone brighter in the days of danger and it was at such a time that Mahadji showed to the world that he was a man who could surmount difficulties and gain his object in spite of all odds. The success in the war with Colonel Camac's army served to make Sindia careless about the task of making good preparations for further action and so his behaviour now was not consistent with his energetic conduct in the previous campaign. His military operations grew lax and were not characterised with the skill and energy which he displayed in times of emergency.⁶⁰ The fatal consequences of this ill-timed negligence and apathy on the part of Sindia was that his army was much harassed for some time by Colonel Camac. This danger again roused Sindia to make indefatigable exertions for retrieving his fortune and checking the career of his enemy. Sindia succeeded in recovering what he had lost and wreaked, at the same time, a fearful revenge on the combined armies of Colonels Muir and Camac, both of whom were made familiar with Sindia's real greatness, with regard to his

(1) Popham was sent to help the Rana of Gohad against the encroachment of Sindia! Major Popham and Captain Brem took the Gwalior Fort on 3rd August 1780.

military preparations as well as the resources of his mind. Seeing that they were unable to curb Sindia's power with the means at their disposal, Colonels Muir and Camac tried their utmost to stir up the warlike races in Rajputana to rise against the power of Mahadji. These attempts on the part of the English, however, proved abortive, as the Rajputs declined to disturb Sindia's possessions without any cause for such an aggressive conduct. Failing in this undertaking, the English offered a great many temptations to the Rana of Gohad with the view of enlisting his sympathy with their cause, but here also they were not more successful than in their strenuous endeavours to excite the Rajputs to rise against Sindia. In this way, the English attempts to make Sindia, the principal promoter of hostilities between the Poona Darbar and the British Government, a sufferer by carrying on hostilities in the heart of his dominions, totally failed.⁽¹⁾

A short time after these events, the devastating work of war was brought to a termination. There

(1) On page 190, Mr. Marshman says that Sindia made overtures of peace to the British Commandant. This, however, appears to be far from correct. Hastings was informed of a general confederacy organised by the Nizam to extinguish the power of the East India Company. This was at the close of 1779. Hastings was very anxious at the end of 1780 to secure peace. In 1781, the French intrigues with the Marathas increased Hastings' anxiety for peace with the Marathas.

was sufficient reason for both, the offender and the defender, to profit by the cessation of hostilities, though peace was desired more by Hastings than by Mahadji. A treaty was concluded between Mahadji Sindia and the English on the 17th October 1781.⁽¹⁾ By the terms of this treaty, all his possessions, with the exception of the Gwalior Fort, were restored to Sindia, who returned soon afterwards to the holy city of Ujjain, then the Capital of Sindia State. This peace afforded a great relief to the East India Company.⁽²⁾ Mahadji now found ample time to turn his attention towards his dominions, which were in need of great care and good administration.

This treaty between Sindia and English was soon followed by the treaty of Salbai, which was duly ratified on the 24th of February 1783. The parties

(1) How far Mahadji Sindia was right in making this separate treaty with the English is a question on which an agreement of opinion is not at all possible. Nana Phadnavis however wanted to evolve good out of this evil policy, and to show to Hindustan that the Peshwa's Government had full confidence in Mahadji Sindia, whom Nana deputed to negotiate and ratify the treaty between the Peshwa and the English. This masterpiece of policy negatived the evil workings of Sindia's separate treaty with the English and at the same time gave Mahadji much importance and exultation by gratifying his ambition.

(2) "Hastings' anxiety for peace with the Marathas was quickened by the arrival of a French armament on the coast.....To bring the war with the Marathas to a close he was ready to sacrifice every foot of ground which had been gained from them."—Marshman, page 190.

to this treaty were the Peshwa and the English. Mahadji acted as a plenipotentiary of the Peshwa, and also as an arbitrator between the two powers, and expressed his approval of the articles of the treaty. It may, *en passant*, be remarked that the English at this time were somewhat alarmed at the rising power and influence and military preparations of Mahadji and Mr. Hastings was so anxious to bring about a peace that he speedily made arrangements for having this treaty ratified, lest such an ambitious and able man like Mahadji might first effect a grand union amongst the different Maratha chiefs and then stir them up to make a common cause with Hydarali of Mysore against the English rule.⁽¹⁾ It was, therefore, quite natural, that Mr. Hastings was, to quote Mr. Grant Duff's words, "particularly pleased at the opening of this channel to a general pacification. Peace, therefore, was sought by the British Government and the Peshwa's Darbar acceded to the proposal as internal affairs at Poona required extremely careful attention on the part of the Ministry."⁽²⁾ This general

(1) The reader can imagine the disastrous consequences of Sindia's separation from the Maratha Confederacy. The English were endeavouring actively to bring it about but Nana Phadnis prevented that baneful occurrence by a timely precaution. The Nizam, Hydarali and even the English could not but admire the wisdom of Nana.

(2) The draft of the Treaty of Salbai was lying before the Ministry at Poona since May, 1782. It was finally approved and ratified on the 24th February, 1783.

pacification, however, proved to be more beneficial to the English than to the Marathas, for had the latter exerted themselves to the utmost at this time, the power of the Bombay Council might certainly have been effectively checked at least for a long time to come.⁽¹⁾

The delay in the final ratification of the Treaty of Salbai was due to the difference in important points of interest between Nana and Mahadji. Nana held that the Treaty should be concluded after consultation with the Nizam, Hydarali and the Bhosle of Nagpur and others whom Nana had rallied together at this time in order to face the dangers and difficulties that arose owing to the ambition of the East India Company. Mahadji was opposed to this plan, as neither the Nizam nor the Bhosle of Nagpur had taken up the arms against the English. The Gackwar had behaved in a cowardly way by rebelling against the Peshwa with the aid of the English army and hence Mahadji Sindia strenuously refused to give back Ahmadabad to the Gackwar. As Hydarali died about this time, the item about his part in the treaty was not attended with any hot discussion. Nana desired that the Bhosle, the Nizam and Hydarali should have no reason to think that the Marathas

(1) Nana Phadnavis received intelligence of a probable alliance between the French, the Dutch, and the Portuguese against the English, but it turned out to be groundless afterwards.

had "bad faith" in the conclusion of the Treaty without their consent. "Nana Phadnavis after having accepted the Treaty, delayed the ratification of it for six months, while he endeavoured to make advantageous terms with Hydar for repudiating it. Hastings' impatience for the completion of this pacification was raised to fever heat by the receipt on the 5th of December, 1782, of a copy of the resolution of the House of Commons, to the effect that he had acted contrary to the honour and policy of the nation, and that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to remove him from the head of affairs. The promulgation of this vote throughout India would not only have prevented the ratification of the Treaty, but paralysed the authority of Government in every Court, but on the 7th the death of Hydar dispersed the cloud of anxiety and Nana immediately affixed the Peshwa's seal to the Treaty."—Marshman.

The Bhosle of Nagpur and the Nizam of Hyderabad felt greatly slighted by the conspicuous political importance which Mahadji Sindia received from the Peshwa's Darbar by the Treaty of Salbai being concluded through him. Sindia was heartily gratified by this elevation of his position and the significance of this diplomatic move of Nana Phadnavis was serviceable in enlisting Sindia's hearty co-operation with the affairs of the Poona Ministry. Mahadji and Mr. Anderson met in Darbar on the 25th of February,

1783, when the final phase of the Treaty was concluded and Sindia expressed his approval of the conduct of the Bhosle and the Nizam. The following extract from Mr. Anderson's letter would be an interesting perusal to our readers : ".....Before I conclude this narrative, permit me to indulge myself for a moment in the pleasing task of tendering a tribute of justice to Mahadji Sindia.....We may perhaps find much apology for Sindia's conduct when we reflect that he has been acting for a superior and probably been often obliged to give way to the dictates of Ministers.....His conduct on the subject of Broach, where his own interests were only concerned, has formed a very agreeable contrast."⁽¹⁾ Nothing can exceed the delicacy which he has shown in the affair.

Mahadji Sindia was bent on punishing those chiefs, who had given trouble during the continuance of the war with the English in Malwa and in the Chambal Districts. The Rana of Gohad, the Khichiwarra chiefs, Chanderi, Datia and other principalities came under Sindia's ban. The acquisition of the Gwalior Fort was a source of much rejoicing to Sindia.⁽²⁾ Antri, Gohad and other Districts were wrested from the Rana of Gohad, who had thrown himself

(1) *Vide* Forrest's "Selections," page 926.

(2) Gwalior formed a part of the Saramjama of the Vinchurkar Sardar and consequently it had to be restored to the Vinchurkar.

on the English protection and given much annoyance to Sindia. Nana Phadnavis severely criticized Sindia's action regarding the extirpation of the power of the Rana of Gohad, but Warren Hastings went to the length of even defending Sindia's part in the destruction of the Rana's fortune, though the Rana was under English protection. The following extract from the minute of Warren Hastings, dated 22nd April 1784, would show that Major Brown's charges regarding Sindia's conduct were not only disbelieved but even refuted by the Governor-General who had implicit faith in Sindia and his measures :—"Much has been said of Sindia's duplicity and falsehood, and inferences have from thence been drawn of his future dangerous designs against the English and their ally, the Nawab of Oudh. Sindia at least does not deserve this character from us. In all his transactions with the English, I believe I might say in all his transactions that have come to our knowledge he has shown an uncommon degree of steadiness and sincerity. Of the circumstances alluded to regarding the Rana of Gohad I have yet no information but I know the Rana himself to deserve the worst that can be said of his political character. His conduct to our Government has been invariably marked with deception, infidelity and ingratitude, and if we may credit the assertions of Mahadji, the notoriety of his want of faith was the cause of Sindia's perseverance in pursuing the war to his utter deprivation. I cannot admit of any plea which the partisans of the Rana may use to charge Mahadji Sindia with a blemish which was so apparent

n himself. Great stress has been laid on the correspondence with the Sardars at Delhi and if the letters written by Himmat Bahadur and Cotal Khan are genuine, and are actually written by Sindia's authority, they prove a great deal, but there is an acrimony in the style of these letters that seems more calculated to irritate us than to persuade those to whom they are addressed; and when we consider that they have been produced to Major Brown by persons who are strongly interested in effecting a misunderstanding betwixt us and the Marathas, we cannot help doubting their authenticity." Further on in the same document Warren Hastings refers to the conclusion of the treaty with Tipu Sultan and defends Sindia in the following manner:—"I think it necessary therefore to repeat in the most pointed manner that I do not entertain the smallest apprehension of the sincerity of Mahadji Sindia, but, on the contrary, I have the most thorough conviction that he has closely connected his views and interests with our own. Even whilst the papers are transcribing that accompany this address, an event has happened which contradicts one part of Afrah Siab Khan's representations, I mean the conclusion of peace with Tipu Sahib. I think it incumbent on me to forward to you an extract of a letter from Lt. James Anderson which contains the latest and most authentic information regarding the transactions with Sindia and the Rama of Gohad, which sets the conduct of Mahadji Sindia in a different light from that in which it has been

represented at Delhi." Major Brown's view is thus overruled and requires no further consideration. Sindia had no intention of breaking with the English as long as they did not come in his path of aggrandizement.⁽¹⁾

Nana, however, yielded his consent to Mahadji, though he urged that this Treaty was less advantageous to the Peshwa than the Treaty of Purandar of 1776, his main objection being to the article which dealt with the relation with other European Powers. That the Treaty of Salbai was not, from the diplomatic point of view, a satisfactory one, requires no further evidence.⁽²⁾ The root of all these troubles was Raghoba, who was kept hereafter at Kopergaon where he died in 1784.

(1) *Vide* Forrest's Selections, Vol. III, page 1090.

(2) At this time the illustrious Minister of the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao addressed a very important letter from the Poona Darbar to the King of England. This letter written by Nana Phadnavis is an interesting perusal. *Vide* Appenbix.

CHAPTER VI.

The Delhi Politics : Sindia's Power at its Zenith.

New fields for Mahadji's ambition had been opened by the turn which the state of affairs had taken at Delhi, and his power and fortune were now to reach their zenith.

It has already been mentioned that Mahadji had returned to Poona after the death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I in 1772. The Marathas were absent for a time from the capital of the Moghal Empire which was now the scene of constant political revolutions and consequent bloodshed. It would be interesting to a great degree to take a bird's-eye-view of the period when these events took place at Delhi, while the Marathas were engaged in the settlement of extremely important political affairs in the Deccan.

Najab Khan was the Minister who had re-gained his influence and power at the Court of the Emperor after the retreat of the Marathas in 1773, and who was, therefore, the chief person at this time at Delhi inasmuch as he carried on the administration of the State. He had prevailed over his rival and fought out his way to the most conspicuous position in the Emperor's Court. As he had tried his utmost, though

fruitlessly, to check the supremacy of the Marathas even before he was in full power, it was quite natural for him to attempt with greater vigour to at least retard their progress in Hindustan. As soon as, therefore, he came in power he endeavoured to dispense with the Maratha garrisons in Delhi. He also succeeded in removing his enemy, Hashm-ud-Dowla, a secret friend of the Marathas, from the office. In the meantime Shuja-ud-Dowla threw in his lot with Najab Khan and both of them began to conspire against the Marathas.⁽¹⁾ The combination of these two persons was considered rightly to obstruct the progress of Maratha conquest in Northern India, but the Nawab Vazir died soon after this union in the year 1775. It was the ambition of Najab Khan to recover the Moghal prestige by re-kindling the dormant energies of the Mohammedan nation. With this object he used his best efforts in undertaking several expeditions but all his hopes and expectations proved abortive. The Maratha power was too strong for him and moreover death put a stop to his ambitious designs on the 22nd of April 1782. Delhi was now

(1) Important correspondence between the Poona Darbar and the Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi has been published by Rao Bahadur Parasnis under the heading "दिल्ली येथील मराठ्यांची राज कार्रण" in the monthly journal "Itihas Sangraha." Deorao Hingne was the Vakil at Delhi and the letters published recently throw excellent light on the Delhi Politics and the Maratha movements. The letters are addressed to Nana Phadnis generally but sometimes directly to the Peshwa (Pant Pradhan).

in a chaotic condition and there was no one in the city who could defend it against the internal feuds or an external invasion. A scene of contention, treachery, and assassination prevailed amongst the competitors for power. Such a state of Delhi affairs was attended with a suitable opportunity, which the Marathas could not allow to slip without taking advantage of it. Mahadji and Nana, therefore, hastened to avail themselves of the opportunity, lest their rivals, the English, might try to establish their influence at the Imperial Court. Nana Phadnis, as it is now well known, urged Mahadji to use his best endeavours in establishing the control of the Marathas over the Emperor and the Imperial affairs at Delhi.

Warren Hastings, who was such an astute and vigilant statesman though the means he sometimes used for gaining his ends were not altogether fair, would never have given Mahadji the assurance that the British Government would not "interfere with his views" at Delhi, unless Mr. Hastings was well aware of the fact that the opposition on the part of the English would be of no avail, but very likely might, on the contrary, have the effect of alienating from them the valuable sympathy of a powerful Maratha chief like Mahadji. Moreover, peace, at any rate, was most imperatively essential to the English at this time owing to causes already alluded to, and consequently they desisted from opposing Sindia's views at the Moghal capital.

In corroboration of the above-mentioned statement, that the English were bent on purchasing peace at any price and that the Governor-General Mr. Hastings was not in a position to check the ambitious designs of Mahadji Sindia, the words of the Governor-General himself may be quoted here for the perusal of our reader. While defending himself against the imputations brought against his character by the illustrious Edmund Burke and other statesmen, Mr. Hastings said : ⁽¹⁾ "I declare that I entered into no negotiations with Mahadji Sindia for delivering the Moghal into the hands of the Marathas, but I must have been, indeed, a mad man if I had involved the Company in a war with the Marathas, because the Moghal, as his last resort, had thrown himself under the protection of Mahadji." The main reason, therefore, it may again be repeated, as to why Mr. Hastings ⁽²⁾ offered no opposition to the plan of

(1) We have given an extract from the letter of Dundas to Lord Cornwallis, dated 21st March 1787, in connection with the impeachment of Warren Hastings. "In 1791 it was decided," says Mr. Roberts, "to drop all the articles of charges except those dealing with the case of Chait Singh and the Begams of Oudh, fraudulent contracts, presents and bribes."—Roberts, page 218.

(2) "Warren Hastings had very unhappy times to face on leaving India, as the following extract would show :—
 "The proceedings (*i. e.*, the impeachment) is not pleasant to many of our friends; and, of course, from that and many other circumstances, not pleasing to us; but the truth is when we examined the various articles of charges against

aggrandisement, which Mahadji was pursuing, was that during the war with the Marathas in the years 1775-82, the English had suffered heavy losses and so they were now unwilling and unprepared to bear "the tremendous scale of Indian warfair," which afterwards "appalled" Lord Cornwallis and obliged him to purchase peace at any price.⁽¹⁾ Again Mr. Keene's words unmistakably corroborate our remarks. With regard to Sindia's scheme of aggrandisement at the Imperial Court, Mr. H. G. Keene, author of "Madhav Rao Sindia," says as follows :—"Such was the grand price for which Indian politicians were contending, of whom one alone had understood the secret. The British might have had it, but they thought their time not come. The business of assisting the Shah, so wrote the envoy of Hastings in December 1783, 'must go on if we wish to be secure in India, or regarded as a nation of faith and honour.' Hastings was not deaf to these considerations, but for various reasons he was unable to put them into action." Mr. Keene says by circumlocation what we have said in plain words. But it will

him with his defences, they were so strong and the defences so perfectly unsupported, it was impossible not to concur." —Roberts, Page 217.

(1) Warren Hastings had several influential enemies in India and England and some of them had even gone to the length of declaring that Hastings accepted a substantial amount in hard cash as a bribe from Mahadji Sindia and consequently, he offered no resistance to Sindia's schemes of aggrandisement.

appear to the reader to be beyond the pale of doubt that at this time Mahadji was so strongly posted as to be in no way afraid of any danger from the side of the East India Company or any other power in India, supported as Sindia was by the Poona Ministers.

As soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself, Mahadji was ready to march to Delhi whilst behind him crouched the whole might of the Peshwa, ⁽¹⁾ the head of the Maratha Confederacy, now growing as powerful as it was in 1772 in Madhav Rao P's time. Mahadji was anxiously watching the confusions and contentions at the Imperial Court, where the two competitors—Afrah Shiab Khan and Mohammad Beg Humadance—were struggling for power. Afrah Shiab Khan, the adopted son of the late Minister Najab Khan, got the better of his rival as he had the control of the Emperor's person. Afrah Shiab was, however, unable to maintain his power and influence at the Delhi Court without the assistance of a strong supporter. He, therefore, thought of soliciting aid from any one of the three powers, the Marathas, the English, and the Nawab Vazir. But as the Nawab and Mr.

(1) *Vide* Nana Phadnavis' letters to the Peshwa's Vakil at Delhi. "Letters, Memoranda, etc." by Rao Bahadur Sane, 233-293. On hearing of Najab Khan's death, Nana wrote to the Vakil—"इंग्रज बादशहाकडे म अनुसंधानलावून, लोभ मारी दाखवून बादशहाम हाताखाली घालून, आपा वेगळे जागा दावावयास चुकणार नाहीत. त्याम पाटीलबाबा स्वातंत्र्यीस आहूत, तेथून दिल्लीचा पत्ता जवळ आहे, तेथपर्यंत जाऊन बादशहाचे अनुसंधान दुसरीकडे न लावतां आपले हाताखाली घातल्याम मोठीच गोष्ट आहे व समय हाच आहे म्हणून विस्तार करून पत्र पाटिलबाबांना पाठविलें आहे.

Hastings declined to give assistance owing to reasons already explained. Afrah Shiab Khan had no other alternative but to cast himself at the mercy of Mahadji, whose reputation since the ratification of the Treaty of Salbai in 1783 was growing rapidly and whose power was also becoming formidable since that time.⁽¹⁾ Mahadji was able to re-establish his influence at the Courts of the Rajput princes adjoining his territories. The Rana of Gohad was completely under his sway. In Bundelkhand his troops were progressing fairly under Appa Khaunde Rao and De Boigne. It was, therefore, quite proper that Afrah Shiab should be solicitous of securing the friendship of such a chief, through whose aid success would surely be gained.

Evidently Mahadji was now the most powerful⁽²⁾ of all the Sardars of the Peshwa. His fame had also increased along with his military strength. Hence both the rivals—Afrah Shiab and Mohammad Beg Humadance—solicited his help but Sindia thought it

(1) How particular was Nana Phadnavis about the Delhi affairs and how minutely he entered into details could be well understood from his words: “बादशाहसु समतेन प्रेरुन वंदोवस्तु आपले लगामी लाकन धेतल्याने मोंटीच गोष्ट आह. दूर देशीन पाहिल्यास यथानाते येईल. जरूर करावेच करावे. पैकाही निकड मिळेल. सर्वही कल्यास घडावया जागे आह. पुढे ईश्वरी इच्छा.”

(2) Mahadji Sindia's power is briefly described by the Historian Mill in the following terms:—“An authority which superseded that of the Vazir and consolidated in the hands of the Marathas all the legal sovereignty of India.”

wiser to accept the invitation from Afrah Shiab Khan as it was ostensibly from the Emperor. Sindia set his house in order and then began the preparations for the onerous task that awaited him. Being fully ready for the coming struggle, Mahadji set out to meet the Emperor Shah Alum who was at Agra. The interview between the Emperor and Sindia took place on the 22nd of October 1784. Thus Mahadji was enabled to interfere in the affairs of the Moghal Empire. At Delhi his influence on the old Emperor became unbounded. It was at this time that Mahadji caused cow-slaughter to be prohibited by the Emperor's orders throughout India. As Shah Alum regained the throne through the help of the Marathas, it was quite natural that he would quietly comply with all the demands of his virtual masters. It may be remarked here that Akbar was prompted instinctively to encourage pro-Hindu legislation, but now the very circumstances were such that they compelled Shah Alum to do every thing to please his Hindu Masters who had placed him on the Masnad.⁽¹⁾ Afrah Shiab Khan was assassinated in his tent by the cruel hand of

(1) Mr. Brown, Agent of Warren Hastings, was sent to Delhi after the death of Najab Khan. Of course, Warren Hastings had no reason to go against the wishes of Mahadji Sindia, though Mr. Brown's mission was to try, if possible, for securing a footing in the Imperial affairs. But Warren Hastings was, for reasons already mentioned, not fully inclined to indulge in the idea of fresh territorial acquisition for some time at least, as it might have entailed heavy expense and led probably to an appeal to arms.

Zein-ul-abdin, brother of Mirza Shuffi, on the 2nd of November 1784, Franklin⁽¹⁾ suspects that Mahadji Sindia had a hand in the affair, but this suspicion is entirely groundless. No human action is without some motive. Sindia's power was irresistible and he had no earthly motive to perpetrate such a foul deed for gaining any end and aim. The fact appears to be that the Emperor had a latent dislike for Afrakhiab Khan and the foul crime seems to be certainly the outcome of the intrigues of the wicked and dissipated Court of Shah Alum. The fact that Zein-ul-abdin was in the Maratha Camp cannot, *per se*, be any presumptive proof of Mahadji Sindia being accessory to the cruel deed, for Sindia had already gained his object by the strength of his arms.

While at Delhi, Sindia obtained for his Master the dignity of Wakeel-i-Mutalique or supreme deputy, an office first conferred on Nizam-ul-Mulk who afterwards lost it owing to the displeasure of the Emperor at Delhi. Fortunately, Mahadji preferred the office of Deputy to the Wakeel-i-Mutalique, but this office was to be hereditary in his family. He

(1) *Vide* Franklin's Shah Alum, page 130. At this time, Himmatt Bahadur Gosween and other Sardars of the Imperial Court joined Sindia and expressed their willingness to support him in his schemes at Delhi. The plans of Sindia were, thus, un-opposed and he was able to restore order by suppressing the feuds of the Moghal aristocracy and strengthening the position of the helpless Emperor.

also received the provinces of Delhi and Agra and the command of the Imperial Army. For all this the Emperor was to receive something like sixty-five thousand rupees per mensem from the Sindia's Treasury. The Marathas energetically carried on the administration at Delhi in the name of the Emperor till the year 1802, when the army of Daulat Rao Sindia was defeated by the English under Lord Lake and the Emperor taken under the British protection. For about twenty years continuously, the Marathas governed the Indian Empire keeping the old Emperor under their control.⁽¹⁾ Thus Mahadji fulfilled the last desire of his august Master, Madhav Rao Ballal, as well as completely gained his own object.⁽²⁾

(1) Mr. Brown had written to Warren Hastings in detail about Sindia's movements and had even informed the Governor-General that Sindia was acting against the British interests. But Hastings did not take any serious notice of Mr. Brown's letter, as the Governor-General had full confidence in Sindia. Hastings even disapproved of some of Mr. Brown's views.

(2) While Sindia was acting vigorously in the Northern India, Nana's plans for recovering the territory in the Southern India, taken by Hydar and Tipu Sultan, were going on energetically. Nana and Nizamally (the Nizam of Hyderabad) had met at Yadgir and exchanged courtesies with each other. It required nearly twelve years for Nana to obtain the provinces that were lost. See "Aitihasik-lekhsangraha" by Pandit Wasudeo Waman Shastri Khare, Vol. VIII, page 3840.

Mahadji had great difficulty in keeping his own position secure at Delhi.⁽¹⁾ The discontented Musalman grandees were, of course, quite unable to do him any harm, but they were instrumental in poisoning the ears of the imbecile Emperor as well as in giving rise to petty troubles. But Sindia's faithful general De Boigne was by his side and rendered great assistance to his master during these troublous times. This valiant General's career is very interesting and details will be found at the end of this book. He has played a conspicuous part under Mahadji in all the expeditions undertaken by Sindia at the time. Moreover, it is not too much to say that as long as this able General was at the head of Sindia's disciplined forces, victory invariably graced his arms and the fame of the "Invincible Brigades of Hindustan," was such as no lapse of time could obscure or obliterate. Through this General's energy and ability Sindia could hold his own against all overwhelming odds at Delhi.⁽²⁾

One of the most important results of Mahadji's taking with him a considerable force to Delhi was that many of the opponents of the Emperor, the

(1) Warren Hastings quietly acquiesced in what Sindia did at Delhi. The Treaty with Tipu Sultan was concluded without the least resistance from the Marathas and hence the English had no reason to have any doubt about Sindia or any jealousy of his plans of aggrandisement at this time. Hastings at least thought and argued in this way, but his view was not approved by his Councillors.

partisans of Humadance, were at once frightened into obedience to Sindia's authority and even Mohammad Beg Humadance, the head of the party opposed to the Marathas, acknowledged Mahadji's supremacy at Delhi. Humadance was entrusted with the duty of conquering Khichiwada, which was under the rule of the spirited Rajput Raja of Raghogarh. At this very time Mahadji Sindia took Agra, together with the famous Fort and the province, on the 27th of March 1784, almost without any strong opposition.⁽¹⁾ Also the Fort of Aligarh, where the widow of Najab Khan resided, was surrendered to Sindia's officers in the November of the same year. In this manner, the Doab, the Provinces of Agra, with the respective forts, fell one by one into Sindia's hands and his power and influence were now felt even in the remotest corners of the British⁽²⁾ and native India.

(1) About this time Tipu Sultan invaded the Maratha territory of Nurgund and committed great atrocities thereby converting the Hindus to the Islamic faith. Two thousand Brahmans committed suicide on account of the fear of being converted to Islam!

(2) "Mr. Pitt, when introducing his Bill in 1784, stated that his first and principal object was to prevent the Governor of Bengal from being ambitious, and bent on conquest; but though the dread of territorial expansion was the bug-bear of the day, and continued to haunt the India House and Downing Street till we had absorbed all India, the tendency of our policy for twenty years had lain in an opposite direction."—Marshman, page 224.

Thus Mahadji was now raised to the highest pinnacle of glory and greatness.⁽¹⁾ Baji Rao the Great, Raghoba, Bhau Sahib and Visaji Krishna Biniwale had, at different times, shaken the Moghal throne at Delhi and extorted obedience from the Imperial Court. They were, however, called upon to perform equally important work in other parts of India. They could not, therefore, continue their stay for a long time in the Moghal Capital. Besides, their object at that time was not so much to remain at Delhi for carrying on the administration of the Imperial affairs as to re-assert their right to Chauth from the Moghals and keep them under the control of the Peshwa's power. At this time, however, Mahadji, not only with the concurrence but the active and strong support of the Poona Darbar, found a convenient opportunity to remain at Delhi, to establish the Peshwa's supremacy at the Imperial Court and to preside over the administration of the Imperial affairs. His power was also so completely consolidated that he was not afraid even to demand the Chauth ⁽²⁾ from the British

(1) Sindia's friend Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of British India, left this country in the February of 1785 under very unfavourable and unpleasant circumstances. His conduct was the subject of public comment in England and he had to answer grave charges, including the one that he allowed Shah Alum to go under the protection of the Marathas. *Vide* Parliamentary Reports and Junius' Letters.

(2) Sir John Macpherson, the acting Governor-General, considered the demand of Chauth from Bengal as evidence

possessions in Bengal. Being unable to punish such an insult with their own means the Governor-General and his colleagues tried in their moments of despair and rage, to foment the jealousy and rivalry already entertained towards Mahadji by Holkar and others of the Peshwa's Sardars. "Divide and Rule" was considered by the East India Company as a masterpiece of policy, and in accordance with it extensive efforts were zealously made to alienate from Sindia the sympathy of Moodhaji Bhosle, the Raja of Berar, whose favour was courted and secured by the Bombay Government according to the instructions of Sir John Macpherson, the acting Governor-General⁽¹⁾ of Sindia's insolent behaviour towards the English and under the influence of such a belief the Governor-General encouraged the desire of Nana Phadnavis to have a separate envoy at Poona. At least Mahadji consented to this plan and Mr. Malet was appointed as envoy at Poona and waited upon Nana Phadnavis in the year 1786. This diplomatic transaction is worthy of much attention. *Vide* "Malet's Diary."

Mr. Malet was instructed by the Bombay Government to wait upon Sindia at Mathura and then to proceed to Calcutta; he visited Champaner, Pawagar, Ujjain, Rajgad, Gwalior, Agra and Mathura, but in other provinces he saw distinct evidence of famine.

(1) The following extract from Robert's Historical Geography of India well describes the successor of Warren Hastings:—"He was not above the average type of the Company's servants in their worst epoch. Concerned in some discreditable intrigues with the Nawab of Carnatic both before and after he had entered the Company's service, he had been cashiered by Lord Pigot but re-instated by the Court of Directors. During this year and half of office, he only

British India. The Governor also used his best endeavours through his agents to deepen the slight feelings of jealousy now supposed to be entertained by Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindia towards each other. The object of all these indefatigable exertions on the part of the East India Company was to check the tide of Sindia's good fortune. But as long as Nana and Mahadji were alive, the desperate efforts of the English were unattended with any success. Till the last moment of Mahadji's life his great power and influence were perfectly unshaken. But Mahadji's situation at Delhi had been made rather troublesome as he had to face great pecuniary embarrassments owing to the failing resources of the provinces which were already exhausted through innumerable causes. ⁽¹⁾ The maintenance of a large force became a very

succeeded in making some ill-advised overtures to the Maratha Government at Poona which afterwards embarrassed his successor.... His administration, though approved by the Court of Directors and rewarded with a baroncy, was declared by Lord Cornwallis, a man not given to exaggeration, to be a system of the dirtiest jobbing."

Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis,
1859, Vol I, p. 371.

(1) There was a very severe famine in the year 1785 in Upper India owing to the failure of rains. For two years the condition of the cattle and of the people was extremely deplorable. The Samvat 1840 is still remembered by the familiar name of "Chalisa" and the havoc it committed is quite heart-rending. *Vide* "Malet's Diary," which contains description of the state of the country as he saw it in his urney.

expensive affair. Hence in order to meet the increasing disbursements, Mahadji was compelled to sequester the Jagirs⁽¹⁾ of several Mohammedan Sardars, all of whom now began to harbour feelings of enmity against Sindia. The Mohammedan nobility had the mortification to be doubly humiliated by the course now pursued by Sindia. In the first place a Hindu was placed in command over them, whose order had to be implicitly obeyed and secondly they had also to submit to a substantial loss of property. ⁽²⁾ It was, therefore, quite on the cards that sooner or latter a stubborn resistance would be offered to Sindia's plans. Though Mohammad Beg Humadancee still enjoyed his Jagirs, he foresaw Mahadji's designs and henceforth became his inveterate antagonist. Thus a great storm was about to disturb Sindia's peace of mind as well as of body.

(1) Intrigues and cabals were the order of the day. Moreover, the Hon'ble East India Company's officers were busily adding fuel to the fire. Hastings' acting successor was not a fit man. About these times Mr. Roberts speaks as follows:—"The feeling was now widely prevalent in England that a Governor-General should be appointed who had not spent his official career in the corrupt atmosphere of the covenanted service."—Page 220, Roberts.

(2) Mahadji found that some of the Jagirs were liable to be confiscated for want of due title. In some cases Jagirs were enjoyed for very poor reasons. The enquiry in this matter naturally produced much discontent and also a great deal of trouble and bloodshed.

CHAPTER VII.

Sindia advanced a claim for tribute on the chiefs of Rajputana and the amount of tribute was settled at first to be about sixty lakhs of rupees, which was to be paid by instalments. According to the agreement the first instalment was unhesitatingly paid and Rayaji Patil was sent to recover the remaining amount of the tribute from the Rajputs, who, however, defied his authority and prepared for an engagement, in which Rayaji's force suffered a defeat.⁽¹⁾ Mohammad Beg and other discontented Mohammedan Sardars had almost joined the Rajput standard as they were already in communication with the princes of Rajputana who offered to back up the cause of the Moghal Sardars. In this way, the drooping spirits of the party, hostile to Mahadji Sindia, were now revived.⁽²⁾ Sindia was

(1) Sindia had fully understood that Nana Phadnis had established the Peshwa's influence everywhere and that Ali Bahadur, grandson of Baji Rao I, was coming with a strong army to Hindustan to help Mahadji. Though averse to the idea of allowing Ali Bahadur and Holkar to share in the success of his plans, Sindia could not openly resist it. The troubles with the Rajputs, however, compelled him to seek Nana Phadnavis' help and solicit the sending of re-inforcements from the Deccan.

(2) During all this period Nana Phadnavis was enthusiastically working for keeping the Peshwa's influence

now taken-a-back to find that even the titular Emperor, the pensioner of the Marathas, had become dissatisfied with his treatment though his pension was regularly paid and his position duly maintained. Never was Sindia in a greater fix.⁽¹⁾ The danger, ready to overwhelm him, was certainly critical; but at the same time it served to show Sindia's resourcefulness as well as his invaluable qualities of head and heart. He had not money enough for the present emergency; his own and the Imperial armies were in arrears. At such a time Sindia had been driven to take the field against the Rajput chiefs and the discontented Moghal Sardars, though in fact he was not prepared for such an arduous undertaking. Undaunted by the present calamity, Sindia set to devise means for warding off the danger. To add to his misfortunes a new cause for anxiety arose in the North of Delhi in the form

and power undiminished. Holkar had fully become an adherent of Nana. Tipu Sultan was checked. The death of Raghoba had removed the greatest source of anxiety and danger. And above all, the Poona Government had established direct relations with the English. Sindia was thus inclined to rely on Nana's aid.

(1) The turn that the Delhi affairs took at this time was such as forebode the loss of all that was gained by Sindia who much feared the decline of his influence in the Deccan owing to the appointment of an Envoy of the British Government at Poona. The struggle with the discontented Moghal Sardars and the Rajputs prevented Sindia from thinking seriously about his influence in the Deccan though he felt it keenly.

of a Sikh invasion of his provinces in that direction. For repelling this incursion, Mahadji sent Hybat Rao Falke and Umbaji Rao Ingle while he sent instructions to Appa Khande Rao and De Boigne to join him at once. At no period of his life, Mahadji had to encounter so many difficulties at one and the same time. The evil strokes of fortune came in a body but Sindia was ready to surmount them all. The fact that Mahadji, without losing the equilibrium of his mind, ably and successfully extricated himself from all these evils closing on him from different directions is in itself worthy of the greatest panegyric.⁽¹⁾

On arriving at Jaipur, Sindia opened negotiations with Raja Pratap Singh. Sindia expected that the Raja of Jaipur, who was a friend of Nana Phadnavis and between whose State and the Poona Darbar there existed a close friendship from the time of the Great Baji Rao, would be the last person to reject Mahadji's offers. But according to the well-known proverb that "misfortunes never come alone," Sindia met with a repulse at Jaipur. In the meantime Pratap Singh was joined by Raja Bijai Singh of Jodhpur, the Rana of Udepur and other petty Rajput

(1) Mahadji Sindia was informed on good grounds that Raja Dayaram was the central figure in the nefarious drama of bringing about a coalition between Mohammad Beg and the Rajputs. Sindia wrote to Shah Nizam to destroy the party of this Raja Dayaram. Shah Nizam arrested Raja Dayaram and kept him in custody.

chiefs.¹¹ The whole of their combined forces amounted to about one lac horse and foot. As the army of Mahadji Scindia was composed of Hindustani men, who, unlike their Maratha brethren, were unwonted to fight with empty stomachs, the Rajput chiefs succeeded in completely harassing their enemies by cutting off their supplies. Sindia's army, which was under Umbaji Rao Ingle, De Boigne, and Rane Khan, had to encounter another danger. Ismail Beg, who had become at this time the most redoubtable foe of Sindia and who gave him unceasing trouble until the moment of Beg's confinement in the fort of Agra, and his uncle, Mohammad Beg, the Commander of the Imperial army, had already assumed an exceedingly unfriendly attitude towards Mahadji and were now on the point of actually joining the chiefs of Rajputana. At such a critical juncture,¹² Mahadji thought it

(1) Mahadji Sindia repeatedly wrote to Nana Fhadnavis at Poona for sending re-inforcements and depicted in detail the nature and magnitude of the danger in the following terms :—“अद्या वैशाख्याने वेवळ माझे स्वतःने नुसताना दोण्या जागे नसत सर्व मराठ्याने राज्याच्या मोठा घका बसणार आहे; कारण ईंग्रज लोक रजपुतल्येकांशी व बायलाशी मिथान बांधणार आहंत; व तसे जाव्याने ईंग्रजांची हिंदुस्थानांत असल वाटून, मराठ्यांस सर्व लोक पाण्यांत पाहू लागतील.”

(2) After the Treaty of Salbai in 1782 Mahadji Sindia had begun more or less to keep up a cold regard towards Holkar and Vinchurkar who were by the Peshwa's order to assist Sindia in Hindustan. At least Mahadji did not treat them with that warmth which he extended to them formerly. Such is the charge of some writers against Mahadji Sindia. Mahadji's letters show that personally Sindia was free from blame, though his conduct

better to give a battle at once to the enemy than to wait and thus allow their strength to increase. With an extraordinary and laudable promptitude, Sindia immediately engaged the Rajput forces in a battle which took place near a village called Lalsot, situated about forty miles to the South of Jaipur. Mohammad Beg was wounded and killed on the field of battle. The Rajput cavalry gave way before the small but disciplined and compact body of troops under De Boigne who opened a tremendous cannonade on the enemy. The valour displayed by De Boigne's regular infantry was indeed very great but it was of no avail, as the Imperial army was faithless and refused to follow in pursuit, allowing, thereby, the Rajputs to make good their retreat.⁽¹⁾ The Rajputs were, therefore, elated with pride and allowed to boast of having won a victory on the plains of Lalsot.⁽²⁾

misunderstood. Mahadji is also blamed for giving no share to Holkar in the Provinces taken by him after the year 1783. He was also supposed to have ignored the army under Vinchurkar, a Sardar of almost equal status with Sindia and Holkar.

(1) Sindia had received intelligence about the Emperor's secret negotiations with the Rajputs and also about his son Prince Jawan Bakhta's correspondence with the English. Sindia was in high wrath for this double-dealing behaviour of the 'imbecile' Emperor, who returned to Delhi on 15th April, 1787.

(2) Nana Phadnis had already issued instructions to Holkar to proceed at once for assisting Sindia at this critical moment. Ali Bahadur was also sent from Poona for the same purpose. But the re-inforcements came rather late.

This important event took place at the end of May 1787, and the result of the unequal combat was that Mahadji found it necessary to retire and make better preparations for retrieving his fortune. No doubt, it was a bold adventure on the part of Sindia to oppose such a great combined force but the death of Mohammad Beg Humadancee greatly diminished the strength of the enemy. Sindia, therefore, with his usual fortitude, set about the task of making his chances of success more certain as well as of wiping away the disgrace that had temporarily settled on his fair name. Two days after this battle, the whole of the Imperial army deserted Sindia, taking with them eighty pieces of cannon, and joined Ismail Beg and the Rajputs.⁽¹⁾

Thus entangled in an almost intricate net, Mahadji behaved like a man of wonderful fortitude and resource. He sent his heavy baggage to Gwalior and retired to Deeg, which he restored to Ranjit Singh, the chief of the Jats, with the view of preserving an interest with those people.⁽²⁾ The Raja

(1) Ismail Beg and Ghulam Kadir posed as the champions of the declining Moghal power and declared their intention of resisting the Marathas. After the defeat at Agra they re-assembled at Ferozabad and proceeded towards Delhi, where an attempt was made to persuade the old Emperor to act against Sindia.

(2) Sindia sent a strong party to Delhi for guiding the Emperor as well as for his safety at this critical moment. The army under Himmat Bahadur also arrived at Delhi soon

of Jaipur was always on terms of great intimacy with Nana Phadnis and consequently the Rajputs did not molest Mahadji's retreat to Deeg, after his defeat at Lalsot in 1787. The Rajputs withdrew into their respective principalities after denying Sindia's right to tribute. Mahadji then placed his heavy baggage and guns in the impregnable fortress of the Jat chief of Bharatpur and strengthened his garrison in Aligarh and Agra. In this way Sindia exerted himself to the utmost for being ready to ward off the difficulties and dangers.⁽¹⁾

The Rajput chiefs did not take any advantage of the distressed condition of Mahadji.⁽²⁾ While Sindia

after this. The two turbulent leaders left the place and encamped at Shahidara beyond the river, as they thought their chances were more or less frustrated by the advent of the Maratha army.

(1) Sindia had his own reasons in remaining at a distance from Delhi and they were certainly sound. Without the re-inforcement of the Maratha army from Poona, Sindia did not think it safe to go to Delhi, where he expected a strong gathering of Moghal chiefs. Sindia had not the remotest idea of such a cruel atrocity from Ghulam Kadir whose father served the Emperor.

(2) The Poona Darbar blamed Mahadji Sindia for the atrocities committed by Ghulam Kadir on the person of the Emperor and in his Zamankhana. They naturally asked Sindia the reason for his remaining at Mathura, while the Emperor was being tortured and the Princesses in the Zamankhana were publicly dishonoured and looted by the soldiers of Ghulam Kadir.

was engaged in putting his house in order and making preparations for the ensuing campaign, the Rajputs were passing their time in idleness and apathy. They did nothing to obstruct Mahadji's career of conquest. Their union was temporary and as soon as they saw that Sindia was out of the field for a time, they persuaded themselves to the erroneous belief that Mahadji was never to return to re-assert his right to tribute.⁽¹⁾ But the conduct of Ismail Beg was not as apathetic as that of his partisans, the Rajputs. Beg was always ready to take time by the forelock and avail himself of the temporary distress and confusion of Sindia. He proceeded towards Agra, where he heard that Ghulam Kadir, son of Zabita Khan Rohilla, was coming to meet him. The news of such an unexpected accession of strength raised Beg's spirits and induced him to undertake plans, more ambitious and on a far larger scale.⁽²⁾ But

(1) Sindia's defeat at Lalsot in May 1787 was much felt by Ahilyabai Holkar, who sent a strong force to retrieve Sindia's prestige. Holkar's troops succeeded in bringing together Sindia's dispersed force and invading the Udepur territory and retaking the places lost by the Marathas.

(2) Nana Phadnis had kept himself in close touch with the Delhi politics and intelligence of all these movements were duly and timely communicated to him. He was as anxious as Sindia to put down the troubles, though naturally it took a long time for the army sent from Poona to reach the scene of action. It is, however, hinted in several letters that Sindia's overbearing conduct tended to detract sympathy of other Sardars from him.

Sindia got a timely warning of the intended coalition of the armies of these two restless men and concerted his measures for defeating their plans. He hastened towards Gwalior and sent an urgent application to the Peshwa's Government, entreating the Poona Darbar to send re-inforcements as soon as possible. He also wrote a separate letter to Nana Phadnis imploring him to back up Sindia with his support and informing him with the extent of the danger that would befall the Peshwa's Government in the case of an alliance of the English with the Rajputs and the Emperor. This letter written by Sindia in the moments of his greatest mental disquietude breathes the most thoughtful and patriotic sentiments, and bears witness to his enthusiastic regard for and warm interest in the welfare and integrity of the Maratha Empire, as well as his unflinching loyalty to the Peshwa. Nana Phadnavis did send re-inforcements under the command of Ali Bahadur ⁽¹⁾ but the Minister was precluded from immediately complying with the request of Sindia, as the presence of a large force at Poona was considered necessary owing to

(1) This view is supported by the opinion of Mr. Charles W. Malet, who says: "There is much reason to think that the Peshwa's ministers are not entirely pleased with the aggrandisement of their vassal (Sindia)." Malet's Report to the Governor-General (Mr. Macpherson). Forrest's Selections, Maratha Series, page 513, Vol. I. Malet was in Sindia's camp at Mathura in May, 1785, and knew much about the affair of the Maratha Empire.

the suspicious conduct of Tipu Sultan, the son of Hyderali of Mysore. As soon as, however, the fear of an invasion from the South had subsided, Nana complied with Sindia's request by sending Ali Bahadur for his aid. Nana also directed Tukoji Holkar to go to Delhi for helping Sindia.⁽¹⁾

As Mahadji's letter to Nana is so very important and consequently worthy of notice, it would be better to reproduce it here in extenso. "Mahadji strongly disavowed every feeling of jealousy and called on Nana to erase it from his mind and to ask Holkar (a strong partisan of Nana), Hari Pant Phadke and

(1) That there was some estrangement or misunderstanding about Mahadji's views appears evident from the following :—“शिवाय दक्षिणतून जी फौज येत होती तिची अशी अट होती की, जिंकिलेल्या मुलुखांत वाटणी दिल्ली तरच मदत द्यावयाची, नाही तर तय्यरहाव्याचे. अशा प्रसंगी होळकरांमार्फत विरुद्ध सरदार अर्जुन मिळण्याचीही मनांत शेका होतीच.

Vide the Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu's Sindia, page 213.

The army from the Deccan had not arrived, when Mahadji defeated Ismail Beg at Agra. In the Histories written by European writers it is mentioned that re-inforcements had come from Poona, but Mr. Natu publishes Mahadji's letter to Balaji Laxman Kamatsdar which shows that the account is not true. *Vide* page 210 of Natu's Sindia.

Mahadji had a strong desire to recover the districts without the help from Tukoji Holkar and in pursuance of this object he had tried his best to make adequate preparations. But the danger was formidable and Sindia was quite aware that in case an emergency arose, it was necessary to have a strong Maratha force by his side to subdue the combined Moghal army. Hence Sindia solicited the Maratha troops from Poona.

Parshrambhau Patwardhan to do the same and to consider well if he (Sindia) have ever interfered with their views, and if they had not seen that all his endeavours tended to the aggrandisement of the Empire:" "we serve," continued Sindia, "a common master, let our exertions be directed to the common cause; if you personally entertain jealousy towards me ask yourself who supported you against the faction of Moroba and put your rival Sakharam Bapu into your power; who suppressed the insurrection of the pretended Sadashiv Rao Bhau, beat the English at Talegaon, maintained a great share of the war against them and concluded an advantageous peace: think of these services, banish suspicion, and silence calumniators, who are our mutual enemies; let the cause of the Maratha nation be upheld in Hindustan, and prevent our Empire from being disunited and overthrown."

(1) Captain Grant Duff, the Historian of the Marathas, has quoted this letter, which is certainly a very important one and shows the general tendency of Sindia's views and aspirations. There appears no strong reason to suppose, though there had been a suspicion in the minds of Nana and Holkar, that Sindia had become indifferent and over-bearing and that he wanted to ignore the Maratha Confederacy.

"Moghals, Rohillas and Rajputs, all resented Sindia's dominion at Delhi, and were prepared to oppose him at every opportunity. But there were more dangerous foes than these, for amongst his countrymen were many whose hostility was scarcely veiled, and chief amongst them his great rival Tukoji Holkar, who was consumed with jealousy at Sindia's success."—Compton's *De Boigne*, page 46.

This letter serves as an index to the character of Mahadji. Those that are inclined to charge him with disloyalty to his master, the Peshwa, will find in it a clear evidence to the effect that Sindia was not only not disloyal but an enthusiastically faithful servant of his master. Mahadji's conduct occasionally seemed to be doubtful but that was owing to the peculiar circumstances by which he was surrounded and not owing to a want of devotion to the Peshwa on the part of Sindia. In the negotiations which followed the defeat of the English army at Wargaon, Sindia did commit a mistake and would be charged with avarice, as he accepted the English gift of Bharoch. But here too he was guided by the notions which prevailed both in his age and previous to it. If Mahadji had not been tempted by the English offers and if he would have prosecuted the war against the English, the power of the Bombay Government would have been extirpated in 1779. This mistake is analogous to the one committed by Baji Rao I when he saved the Nizam after totally defeating and humbling him more than once. But it seems that the guiding principle of the Hindu Victors of those times was not so much to deprive an enemy of his kingdom and send him abegging as to humble him and compel him to pay a tribute. In fact the very virtues of these Hindu Conquerors became politically their greatest defects. Under these circumstances, the mistake committed by Mahadji Sindia,⁽¹⁾ during

(1) Sindia's danger at this time was much aggravated by the activity of Ismail Beg, who was secretly instigated

the negotiations after the battle of Talegaon may be condoned. Excepting this mistake, we never find Mahadji's conduct blamable.

The delay in the arrival of the re-inforcements from Poona⁽¹⁾ and the gravity of the impending danger served to evolve the best qualities of Sindia's head and heart. It was in times of difficulty that Sindia's sterling worth was made known to the world at large. In the season of success Sindia was often off his

by Tukoji Holkar, whose indignation was greatly increased by the small share awarded him of the territory conquered from the Moghals. Holkar asserted his equal right to occupy the newly conquered territory of Ajmeer. "This, of course, led to disagreements and difficulties; but before drawing his own sword, Holkar sought for some other instrument to use against Sindia, and in the restless and rebellious spirit of Ismail Beg found the very weapon he desired. He at once determined to make a cat's-paw of the Moghal noble and push him forwarded to disturb the tranquillity of the new conquests, trusting in any disturbance that ensued to find an opportunity to further his own interests." Compton's *De Boigne*, p. 73. The Hon'ble Mr. Natu has shown how Compton's view is wrong so far as the division of the annexed territory is concerned. *Vide* p. 299 of Natu's *Mahadji Sindia*.

(1) Sindia laboured under the misunderstanding that the Poona Darbar were directly or indirectly instigating Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar to thwart Sindia's schemes and plot against him. Though Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar were acting against Sindia's wishes and interest, there is no evidence to suppose that it had sanction from the Poona Darbar. Nana Phadnavis openly disapproved of such a diversity of interest and waste of energy in mutual destruction

guard and his head was occasionally turned by a victory over his foe. It was during the days of danger that Mahadji really appeared the great man that he certainly was. A situation of difficulty was a sure indication of Sindia's coming good luck.⁽¹⁾

(1) The following pages would show that Sindia's danger was augmented by the rising power of the Sikhs. The power of the Sikhs was, however, serviceable to India, inasmuch as it was instrumental in checking the ambition of Timur Shah, the Amir of Afghanistan, who was casting a greedy eye on India.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mahadji's preparations were energetically carried on in order to be in a position to avert the gathering storm. Though he was in want of assistance from the Poona Darbar, yet he exerted himself to the utmost to make the best of his own resources. His chief enemy was Ismail Beg, who was likely to be joined by the turbulent and cruel Ghulam Kadir.⁶⁹ The latter, however, proceeded to Delhi as Sindia was in distressed condition and drove the Maratha garrison out from the city placing his own troops in their stead. Then he marched to Aligarh and after reducing it, went to assist Beg in the siege of Agra. The Jat chief of Bharatpur, whom Sindia had already won over to his side, successfully and frequently harassed the army of Ismail Beg and at the same

(1) Begum Sumru, who afterwards loyally undertook the defence of Shah Alum against the cruelty of this Rohilla, was of some use in the suppression of Sindia's danger arising from the Cis-Satlaj Sikhs. The History of this remarkable woman is interesting. She was the daughter of a Mohammedan of Arab descent and born in 1763. In 1781 she embraced Christianity. Her army is said to have consisted of five Battalions of Sepoys, about 300 European Officers and gunners, with forty pieces of cannon, and a body of Moghal horse. *Vide* "Rambles and Recollections" by Colonel Sleeman, Vol. II, page 384.

time gave every encouragement to the besieged for whose rescue Mahadji sent Appa Rao Khande Rao and Rane Khan to Agra. The Jats of Bharatpur, who were now the staunchest friends of the Marathas, also joined the army of Appa Khande Rao. The combined forces of the Marathas and the Jats had scarcely marched 16 miles towards Agra, when they met the united forces of Ismail Beg and Ghulam Kadir⁽¹⁾ both of whom had come with the sole intention of giving battle to Sindia at a place called Chaksana on the 24th of April 1788. An engagement soon followed, in which the Maratha and Jat armies were repulsed.

The cause of this repulse was that one of the two Mohammedan commanders of the Bharatpur infantry, by name Jahangir Khan, deserted his master, and committed the grossly disloyal act of joining the army of Ismail Beg. The Jat cavalry under Shivsing

(1) The motive of Beg and Ghulam Kadir may well be understood from their hypocritical professions of loyalty to the Emperor through the instrumentality of Manzar Ali Khan and their unveiled counsels to the Emperor to throw off the yoke of Sindia. Both Beg and Ghulam Kadir requested the Emperor to free himself from the Maratha protection. They even volunteered their services for attacking Sindia at Mathura.

"Citing the authority of Ismail Beg who stood by Ghulam Kadir represented (during the interview with the Emperor in Diwan-i-Khas) that the army was prepared to chase the Marathas from Hindustan....."—Keene's "Fall of the Moghal Empire," page 186.

Faujdar also did not behave properly. The Bharatpur infantry under M. Lestimeaux fought very bravely and gave great assistance to De Boigne who fought with his usual valour. The Marathas were likely to gain a victory but the conduct of the Jat cavalry was not as satisfactory as that of the Jat infantry and hence according to the opinion of De Boigne the day was lost.

Ismail Beg, however, had no reason to boast of his nominal victory. He had won the day owing to a chance and the cowardly and ignominious act of Jahangir Khan who deserted his master and who had soon to meet with a condign punishment. Bad ways have invariably bad ends and this was literally true in the case of Beg, who, at no distant date, received a death-blow from the Marathas and was made to beg for his very maintenance. The defence of the Agra Fort was gallantly carried on. Meanwhile dissensions soon broke out among the Mohammedan chiefs. A Sikh invasion was expected very soon and Rane Khan sent a party to join the Sikhs and induce them to plunder the Jagirs of Ghulam Kadir. Rane Khan's object was gained, for Ghulam Kadir, afraid of the danger to his estates, went hastily for protecting them against the valiant Sikhs. Just at this time Mahadji sent re-inforcements to Appa Khande Rao and Rane Khan. The combined armies of the Marathas and the Jats marched to the relief of the Agra Fort, where they arrived on the 18th of June 1788. The force of Ismail Beg was defeated in an obstinate

conflict. Beg's forces were dispersed and his power was almost completely crippled. This important engagement, which was fraught with so many important consequences, took place at Fatehpur near Agra on the 18th of June 1788. Beg, who received at no distant date timely encouragement to resume the offensive, received two wounds, escaped from the battle field " by the swiftness of his horse, plunged into the river Jumna, and gaining the opposite bank, hastened towards Ghulam Kadir's camp where he was cordially received. This decisive battle extinguished for ever the last flickering hopes of independence that remained to the Moghals and established the ascendancy of Mahadji. It assured the easy reconquest of the Doab provinces and made Mahadji Sindia the undisputed master of Hindustan.

The meeting of these two turbulent men was productive of great evils. Imagining that Sindia was now hopelessly in troubles, both of them proceeded to Delhi but were refused admittance into the capital as the Emperor was very much afraid of them.

(1) Beg and Ghulam Kadir repeatedly pressed on the Emperor's notice the desirability of stopping the "usurpations" of the Marathas and when they found that their counsels were unheeded and their plans frustrated, they did not desist from opening fire on the palace at Delhi with their heavy guns. The Emperor invited aid from the Marathas. Sindia was at Mathura, whence he urged Begum Sumru to hasten to the Emperor's assistance. Sindia also sent Rayaji Patel with a force of 2,000 horse to Delhi.

Ghulam Kadir, ⁽¹⁾ however, gave a considerable bribe to the confidential servant of the Emperor and thus obtained entrance into the Capital which he manned with his own troops. The wretched Ghulam ⁽²⁾ censured the poor helpless Emperor for his having committed the imprudent act of congratulating Sindia on his victory at Agra and requesting his help for the establishment of the Imperial authority. He then began to commit atrocities which are "without example in the annals of the world." This state of affairs lasted for about two months. During this time the Emperor suffered every form of injury and insult at the hands of this blood-thirsty and turbulent ruffian ⁽³⁾ whose cruelties culminated in the destruction of the Emperor's eyes by the point of his dagger. The wives, daughters, sons, and other relations of the old Emperor were cruelly exposed, dishonoured,

(1) The reader would find interesting as well as funny details about the cruel acts of Ghulam Kadir in a letter written by Abaji Narsinha to Sakhopant Deshpande at Kurundwad, and published by Pandit Wasudeo Shastri Khare. *Vide* Vol. VIII of *Aitihasik Sangraha*, p. 4223.

(2) From the letter above alluded to it appears that a rumour had spread into distant parts of India like Hyderabad about the death of Shah Alum on account of Ghulam Kadir's violent and cruel treatment to the Shah. How Sindia was enraged could be imagined from a funny sentence in the said letter, "रोहित्य ने मुलखांत धाम धूम करन जे सांपडतील व्यानें पोट चिरून कांटे भरतात."

(3) Ghulam Kadir justified his conduct by representing that he acted under supernatural inspiration. "As I was

disgraced, and some of them even starved to death. To the relief of Shah Alum and to the joy of the citizens of Delhi the Maratha army was reported to be on its way to Delhi, which, the poor citizens confidently expected, might be restored to order after the arrival of the Marathas.

Before proceeding to relate how Sindia relieved the old and imbecile Emperor from the disgrace which Ghulam Kadir had been heaping on the devoted head of Shah Alum, it is necessary to see what was the attitude of that worthless and unfortunate descendant of the great house of Babar towards the great Mahadji Sindia. Although Mahadji had given no cause whatever for the Emperor to complain, yet he and the equally worthless hair-apparent were loud in their denunciation of Sindia's conduct. The hair-apparent, of course, with the Shah's encouragement, painted Sindia's actions in dark colours and thus misrepresented them to the British Power, which was at this time quite helpless to thwart Mahadji's

sleeping," he averred, "in a garden at Sikandra, an apparition stood over me and smote me on the face, saying, Arise, go to Delhi, and possess thyself of the palace."—Keene.

(1) "Such was the Beg's influence that the Moghal portion of the Imperial troops joined him immediately and left the unfortunate Emperor to be protected exclusively by unbelievers under the general direction of the Gosaeen Leader, Himmat Bahadur. This mercenary, not perhaps having his heart in the cause,...soon withdrew."—Keene's "Fall of the Moghal Empire," page 183.

schemes of conquest. The imprudent Mirza Jawan Bhakhta even went the length of putting down Mahadji in the same class with Ghulam Kadir and he had the audacity and ingratitude to misrepresent Mahadji in a letter which the Mirza wrote to George III as the enemy of the titular Emperor and his family. ⁽¹⁾ The worthless Mirza Jawan Bhakhta, ⁽²⁾ however, did not live long to spread the evil contagion of his evil disposition. He terminated his miserable existence at Benares on the 31st of May 1788. The

(1) ".....In the midst of these disgraceful scenes, only one servant of Shah Alum was found spirited and honest enough to give him salutary counsel. This was Setai Das, the treasurer of the household, who freely told his master that no reliance could be placed on the promises of the Rohilla Chief....." Major Thorn's Memoir of War in India, p. 144.

".....Arrayed in their finest attire, they were conducted into a large Saloon, where, instead of the reception due to their sex and rank, the ladies were rudely deprived of their splendid dresses, and sent back in homely garb to lament their credulity and vent un-availing execrations upon the crafty tyrant, who, not content with these acts of rapine, attempted the chastity of one of the young princesses, but was foiled in his brutal purpose by her drawing forth a secreted dagger and plunging it into her bosom...."

Thorn's Memoir, page 146-47.

(2) But the only consolation he received, either from the Viceroy or from Mr. Hastings, hampered as the latter was by the resolution of his Council, was the advice to turn to Mahadji Sindia. Captain Scott says that the prince received an allowance of Rs. 40,000 a year from the British Government—Keene, page 116.

poor old, imbecile Emperor Shah Alum, the protege of the Marathas, whom Sindia had never given, at least intentionally, any cause for complaint and who, at no distant date, displayed the inconsistency of his nature by calling Sindia in a poem as his (Shah's) real saviour,⁽¹⁾ was not contented with merely showing in a passive way his unreasonable ill feeling towards the Great Mahadji. The Shah even went the length of arranging for an engagement, an open conflict with his patrons, the Marathas. But the poor Shah was mistaken in all these rash doings. He did not know that when the Marathas had certainly tried and succeeded in establishing their power in Hindustan, they had not the least desire to injure a helpless man like Shah Alum, who had thrown himself at their mercy and whom, as the world knows, they rescued from the iron clutches of the cruel Ghulam Kadir. The misguided and the crazy Shah was taught, at length, by bitter experience to see that he had no better helper in the world than the generous Mahadji Sindia, the Peshwa's Deputy in Hindustan, as Sindia's new title signified.

(1) ".....At length on the 11th October 1788, the last day of the past, a sense of deliverance began to be vaguely felt. It began to be known that Ismail Beg was reconciled to Rane Khan, and that the latter was receiving reinforcements from the Deccan. Lestimeaux and De Boigne, with their formidable Telinga battalions, had already arrived. All was movement and din in the Pathan Camp at Shahdara.

"Fall of the Moghal Empire," Keene, page 194.

The Peshwa's Government severely took Mahadji to task for not proceeding at once to Delhi with the view of preventing the occurrence of the terrible atrocities.¹¹ But the events that followed somewhat justified Sindia's conduct. Mahadji was encamped at Gwalior awaiting the troops under Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar, fully confident that a constant intimacy between the two thoroughgoing intriguers—Ismael Beg and Ghulam Kadir—was impossible. This belief was proved more than true by the dissensions that broke out between them.¹² The Army under Ali Bahadur, which was sent from Poona by Nana Phadnis, soon afterwards joined Mahadji and the whole force marched to Delhi under the commanders, Ali Bahadur, Appa Khande Rao, and Rane Khan, and occupied the city. The Marathas stopped all violence and restored order amidst the joy of the helpless citizens of Delhi. The bestowal of a Jagir on

(1) "Finally, as the short chill evening of the autumn day closed in, the high walls of the Red Castle blabbed part of their secret to those who had so long watched them, with a loud explosion, the powder Magazine rose into the air, and flames presently spread above the crenellated Parapets..... Ghulam Kadir had finally departed, leaving the Sadimgar by a sally-port."—Keene, 195.

(2) This view is supported by Mr. Keene in his "Fall of the Moghul Empire," wherein he says: "Sindia had also sufficient taste of the fighting powers of the Musalmans to lead him to avoid a general engagement as long as possible, since every day would increase the probability of their quarrelling if left to themselves, while external attacks would only drive them to cohere," page 181.

Ismail Beg quieted his greed and satisfied him, who, though a bad man himself, was not so depraved and wicked as the cruel Ghulam Kadir and was, therefore, induced to prefer a peaceful life of sub-ordination to a restless existence. Mahadji had given strict orders not to show the least mercy to Ghulam Kadir, and hence Ghulam could expect no mercy from the Maratha Commanders on their arrival at the gates of Delhi. Ghulam Kadir hastily managed to fly from Delhi taking with him Bedar Bakhsh, one of the many sons of the Emperor Shah Alum, and some other members of the Royal family.

Soon after taking possession of the City and establishing their influence there, the Marathas sent a party in pursuit of the cruel Ghulam Kadir, who after his flight from the City had found a shelter in the fort Meerut, which was soon besieged by the pursuing party. Ghulam Kadir was fully aware of the danger that was overwhelming him and hence to avoid greater distress he made overtures to submit on any humiliating terms but his overtures were totally unheeded. Finding himself thus helpless he tried to effect his escape by stealing out of the fort at midnight and making good his way towards the Kingdom of the Sikhs. He carried with him a part

(1) For two months the siege was carried on and yet Ghulam could not be brought to bay. At last failure of provisions made him hopeless. He managed to effect his escape from the Fort on the 24th December 1788.

of the most valuable jewellery which he could lay his hand upon at Delhi. His weary horse, unable to bear the burden any longer, fell causing much injury to the rider, who lay senseless on the ground. One misfortune always brings another in its train. This saying was literally verified at this time. While Ghulam was recovering his senses and preparing to resume his journey, he was recognised by a peasant, by name Bhika,⁽¹⁾ who took Ghulam to the Maratha Camp where he was given over into the charge of the Commanders of the Maratha Army. Mahadji had desired that Ghulam, after being captured, should be sent to Mathura, the favourite place of residence of Sindia. Mahadji now found the opportunity of inflicting a dreadful punishment on Ghulam Kadir who had already been sent in pursuance to Sindia's desire to Mathura. Ghulam Kadir had committed two crimes. First he had defied the authority of the Marathas and secondly he had wronged the helpless old Emperor, who was now under the protection of Mahadji. Thus he deserved to be treated with the

(1) Ghulam Kadir had looted the house of this Bhika, who now found an occasion to do retributive justice to the Ghulam. Mr. Natu says that Bhika was a "Kayastha Brahman" and a Patwari. It is difficult to understand what Mr. Natu means by a "Kayastha Brahman." *Vide* page 219.

The village is not far from the Begum Sumru's home at Kotana and is called Jami, where, I believe, Bhika's descendants still enjoy a piece of free-hold land that was bestowed on him by Shah Alum for this service.—Keene's "Fall of Moghal Empire," page 198.

utmost severity and Mahadji was the best man for effecting this purpose.

The punishment inflicted on Ghulam Kadir was quite proportionate to the crimes perpetrated by him in the Imperial palace and the Royal Zamana. It would be interesting to the reader to know the story of Ghulam Kadir's punishment with somewhat of detail. On his arrival at Mathura, Sindia inflicted on him the punishment. Tashir, sending him round the Bazar on a Jackass with his face to the tail and a guard instructed to stop at every considerable shop and beg a Cowari in the name of the Nawab of Bawani.⁽¹⁾ The wretched man becoming abusive under the contemptuous treatment, his tongue was torn out of his mouth. Gradually he was further mutilated, being at first blinded as a retribution for his treatment of the old Emperor and subsequently deprived of his nose, ears, hands, and feet and sent to Delhi. Death came to his relief on the road, it is believed, by his being hanged on a tree on the 3rd of March 1789, and the mangled trunk was sent to Delhi, where it was placed before the sightless Emperor, the most ghastly Nazar that was ever presented in the Diwan-i-Khas! Thus the injury and insults that Ghulam Kadir had heaped on the helpless Shah Alum and his Zamana were avenged by the Marathas to the greatest exultation

(1) *Vide* Keene's "Fall of the Moghal Empire," pages 199-200.

of the forlorn Emperor and the citizens of the Moghal Capital. ⁽¹⁾

In a short time after these important events Mahadji left Mathura, where he was residing for the past three years, to pay a personal visit to the Emperor. Sindia found every thing at Delhi in a satisfactory condition owing to the energetic exertions of his commanders Appa Khande Rao and Rane Khan who had already succeeded in crushing the power of Ghulam Kadir's party ² at Delhi in such a manner as not to allow it to recover any strength afterwards. Mahadji re-seated the Emperor on the Masnad with much pomp, and obtained the ratification of the Samad of Vakil-i-Mutalique for the Peshwa and for himself as his Deputy. It will be considered in the following paragraphs whether this act of Mahadji was wise or otherwise but it cannot but be mentioned here that in this transaction Mahadji showed sincere loyalty to his

(1) Ghulam Kadir, the eldest son of the Rohilla Chief Zabita Khan, was a beautiful youth, whom the Emperor is said, by tradition, to have transmuted into a harem page, and who lived to exact a fearful vengeance for the ill-treatment that he may have received. *Vide* Keene's "Fall of the Moghal Empire," page 101.

(2) Ghulam Kadir's jewel-laden horde had galloped off from Bhika's field, leaving the rider where he had fallen, M. Lestinneaux, into whose hands he came together with the jewellery, left Sindia's service abruptly at this very time. It is possible, therefore, to conjecture that the crown jewels of the great Moghal are now in France.

Compton, page 43, and Keene, page 203.

Master, the Peshwa. Noble-minded men never slacken in their regard and veneration for their benefactors and this was verified at this time, as on many other occasions, by Mahadji's actions in the moments of his greatest prosperity. It was now that Sindia's schemes were completely crowned with success. His rivals in Hindustan were almost thoroughly humbled and his power, therefore, was at its zenith on this occasion. Several important additions were now made by Mahadji to his dominions. Doab together with the provinces of Agra and Delli were taken by Sindia and the Jagirs of Ghulam Kadir were resumed. Thus Rohilkhand, Haridwar, Kurukshetra, Rampore, Sambalpoore, Moradabad, Aligarh, etc., came under Sindia's rule at this time.

While Mahadji was in this most enviable state of prosperity, intelligence of a lurking danger was brought to him.⁽¹⁾ It was reported that the barbarians of Afghanistan, formerly the bane of India, were again in the field with a vast force under their king Shah Timur, who was compelled to fly disgracefully from the Punjab after being defeated by Raghunath Rao in 1755. But the Afghans did not like to pay a visit again to the land of the unbelievers. Perhaps they might

(1) In addition to this danger, Mahadji had to face other difficulties : — "तमेव होळकर, अलीवहादर व गोमाख्यांच्या कौत्र्या मुख्य हिमन बहादर हेही आपला छेप करितात व पाटिलबाबांस पुंरं माहीत होतें, म्हणून त्यांनी या सगळ्यांस शिव लोकांवर पाठविण्यांचे योजिलें" — Nana, page 223.

have thought it below their dignity to visit again a country which had suffered a defeat at their hands! There was, however, some danger from the Sikhs, a nation of very brave men, whose power became so formidable that they, afterwards, were successful in inflicting defeats on the Afghan barbarians in their own land. But the Sikhs never molested the possessions of their Hindu friends, the Marathas. At this very time one of the sons of the Emperor went to the Court of Nizam Ali and solicited some help from the Nizam, who, however, coldly received the Shahzada and declined to give any assistance against the Maratha power. This was as it should be, for the Nizam had a vivid remembrance as to how he and his predecessors were completely humbled by the Peshwa's generals. The Shahzada became disappointed and went to Poona, where he was courteously received. The Emperor's son had come to stir up Musalmans against the Marathas but *Kismet* (luck) compelled him to be a protégé of the Hindu Padshah.⁽¹⁾

Whatever difficulties arose at this period, were tidied over by Mahadji by his ability and energy and by the aid of his disciplined army which had been greatly improved and increased.⁽²⁾ He further

(1) An original letter in this connection is given in the Appendix. It is from Nana Phadnavis to Mahadji Sindia. Several letters from Nana to Ali Bahadur, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia in connection with Himmat Bahadur's intrigue are shortly to be published by Mr. S. M. Divekar.

(2) After Ghulam Kadir's defeat, De Boigne had left Sindia's service for a time, but Sindia persuaded De Boigne to

enhanced the efficiency of his vast forces by the introduction of European discipline into them. It would not be too much to say that Mahadji maintained his position secure by the aid of his efficient forces, though there was at this time some prejudice against regular armies.¹ The fame of Sindia's Military strength spread far and wide and the great success of Mahadji's regular infantry, rendered efficient by the talents and energy of De Boigne, led most of the Maratha States to maintain regular battalions as a part of their army.

In the early part of 1790, Mahadji was busy in conciliating Ali Bahadur and Holkar, both of whom had been sent with a large force by Nana Phadnavis to aid Sindia in ensuring the success of his schemes at Delhi and in warding off any danger that may arise from the party of the discontented Mohammedans.²

leave the commercial pursuits he carried on in Lucknow and join the army again. De Boigne's pay was increased and he was ordered to look after the Sindia's army to which addition was made at this time.

(1) De Boigne had accepted service under Sindia on two principal conditions, *viz.*—That the army would be regularly paid and that he would never be asked to fight against the English power in India. Between 1791-93 two fresh Brigades were formed.

(2) Himmat Bahadur Gosain who had considerable force under him, gave much trouble to Sindia. The Gosain, when hard pressed by Sindia, resorted to the camp of Ali Bahadur and sought the shelter of the "Peshwa's Jari Patka." Ali Bahadur refused to surrender the Gosain to Sindia and matters

The object of this reconciliation was to secure the help of the two above-mentioned chiefs: (1) in curtailing the power of the frontier tribes, which frequently made raids upon his northernmost Provinces: (2) in humbling Ismail Beg, who again had begun to disturb the peace of Sindia's mind: (3) and finally in punishing some of the Rajput chiefs, who, devoid of all patriotism, had obstructed Mahadji's schemes with regard to the Delhi affairs and thus served to weaken, or at least to impede to some extent, the path of Hindu Supremacy.⁽¹⁾

The thought of extirpating Ismail Beg's power was now uppermost in Mahadji's mind. He, therefore, made up his disputes with his co-adjutors, Holkar and Ali Bahadur, and then embraced the earliest possible opportunity for destroying totally the power and influence of Beg's party. Ismail Beg had succeeded in securing the support of the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur. The intelligence of this intended coalition between the Rajputs and Beg reached Mahadji in time. Sindia, vigilant as he was, succeeded by means of tempting promises in conciliating the Rajputs, who withdrew from the Beg's camp. This was, indeed, a

came to a critical condition. Through the wise counsels of Rane Khan the matter was amicably decided at no distant date.

(1) Mahadji wrote strongly to Nana Phadnavis regarding the conduct of Himmat Bahadur, complaining seriously of his misdemeanour. Nana poured oil on the troubled waters and brought about a compromise. *Vide* Peshwa's Bakhar, page 150.

great accession of strength to Mahadji. Soon afterwards, Sindia tried with great success to spread defection in the regular army of Beg and thereupon ordered his commanders, Gopal Rao Bhau and De Boigne to attack the camp of Beg near Patan.⁽¹⁾ A decisive battle was fought at this place on the 27th of June 1790, when, after a display of great valour, the Maratha army succeeded in inflicting a defeat on Ismail Beg, who exerted himself to the utmost but in vain. The whole of his army, which was still large, was completely routed and dispersed. Ten battalions grounded their arms and surrendered themselves to Sindia. Beg was now literally reduced to the condition of a beggar and fled to the gates of Jaipur to beg shelter from the Raja. Sindia's victory was complete and consequently all the toils and turmoils of so many anxious days were forgotten in a trice. General De Boigne and Gopal Rao Bhau greatly distinguished themselves in this memorable battle of Patan, which is well remembered in Rajputana even to this day.⁽²⁾

Sindia's army in this battle numbered about 10,000, while the forces of Beg amounted to the large number of 45,000, of which 20,000 were horse and

(1) About this time Holkar's troops molested the Jagir villages of Ismail Beg and made him restless. Beg naturally thought that Holkar raided the village on the initiative of Sindia.

(2) In order to check the possibility of the danger due to the Sikhs' raids, Mahadji sent Baiji Ingle and Kashi Rao Holkar with 20,000 troops.

the rest foot, together with one hundred guns. De Boigne's disciplined battalions contributed much to the success of the day. Though the battle was a hard fought one, yet on Sindia's side only 120 were killed and 472 were wounded. The loss on the side of beg was immense.⁽¹⁾ De Boigne had thus every reason to be proud of such a glorious victory, which greatly raised the reputation of his master as well as added much to his own fame as a soldier of no mean talents. "Thank God," exclaimed De Boigne, "I have realised all the sanguine expectations of Sindia." Gopalrao Bhau, of whom the reader will hear much more in Daulat Rao's time, also covered himself with great glory in this well-known engagement.⁽²⁾

The important battle of Patan certainly paved the way for the supremacy of Mahadji in Rajput country. The proud and noble princes of Rajputana quietly submitted to the supremacy of their Hindu conqueror, Mahadji. But the prince of Jodhpur, already charged with the infamy of having murdered a relation of

(1) The defeat of the Rathors of Marwar at Patan was the source of considerable exultation to Jaipur. The following verse describes what the Rathors lost at Patan:

घोडा, जोडा, पागडी, मूछां अरु तलवार ।

पांच रक्सा मेलदीनी, पाटण में राठोर ॥

(2) The Maratha officers claim much of the credit of this tough battle. In the "Holkar's Kaitiyat" credit is given to Ambaji Ingle and Bapuji Holkar for their valour on this battle-field. The Marathas obtained 107 guns, 6,000 rifles, 15 elephants, 200 camels and 300 horses. It is natural for De Boigne to claim the credit for his "Regular Forces."

Sindia, tried to make a feeble and unwise resistance to Sindia's power. Bijay Singh endeavoured to offer a large bribe to General De Boigne and thus secure his good graces. For the accomplishment of this object the imprudent Raja of Jodhpur sent an agent to wait upon the General,⁽¹⁾ who, however, was thoroughly proof to such temptations and sent a message, pregnant with a profound significance, to the Raja to the effect that Sindia had already given him (De Boigne) in Jagir not only Ajmeer but the whole of the dominions of Jodhpur and Jaipur also. Foiled in this inglorious attempt, the Raja came to the conclusion that he would have now to yield to the inevitable. But still the Rajput Prince was bent on making a final struggle before submitting to his fate. His defeat at Mairta, of which we shall have to speak later on, humbled his pride and established the Maratha supremacy in Rajputana till the year 1803, when Daulat Rao Sindia lost Ajmeer and his right to annual tribute from the Rajputana chiefs.

Bijay Singh and his partisans, defeated as they were, mustered strong to face the formidable forces of Sindia. Nothing but an appeal again to arms could

(1) Lord Wellesley's Despatches have fully recognized the extent of Sindia's military strength, augmented by General De Boigne's disciplined army and the energy of Perron, the successor of De Boigne. We have given some extracts from these despatches to point out what importance the "Invincible Brigades" enjoyed in the building up of the Maratha Empire.

settle the question. ⁽¹⁾ The armies of Bijay Singh and Mahadji met on the memorable plains of Mairta where, long ago, the Jodhpur Rajputs had been vanquished by the Marathas. ⁽²⁾ An obstinate battle ensued in which the Marathas and the Rajputs fought most bravely and exerted themselves to the utmost. But the terrible fire from Sindia's famous artillery was too much for the Rajputs, who began to give way before the destructive charges from the Maratha cannon. The conspicuous bravery of the Rathor troops was of no avail. There was all confusion and disorder in the Rajput army. Bijay Singh was crushed by his most disappointing defeat and expressed his willingness to have a peace concluded at any rate. Beg still beseeched Bijay Singh to continue the hostilities but the Jodhpur prince was now made wise enough by this bitter experience to pay no heed to the Beg's fatal advice. Bijay Singh submitted to Sindia and promised to pay unhesitatingly an annual tribute to the Marathas. Thus the hostilities came to an end and friendly relations were again established between the Marathas and the Rajputs. The defeat of Bijay Singh at Mairta thus paved the way for the peace of Rajputana. This

(1) Bijay Singh called the Princes of Bikaner, Rupnagar, Kishangarh and others to his aid and thus tried to continue the struggle against the forces of Sindia.

(2) The Prince of Jaipur was quite willing to effect a peace with Sindia, but Bijay Singh was obstinate and inexorable and would listen to no counsels of peace. Sindia, therefore, laid siege to the City and Fort of Ajmeer on the 15th of August 1790.

important engagement which took place on the 8th of September 1790, is still well-remembered in Rajputana and often forms the subject of conversation in many a social gathering.

The following extracts—one from the letter of General De Boigne, ⁽¹⁾ who had figured so conspicuously in the battle of Patan and Mairta and the other from the "Calcutta Gazette"—will furnish the reader with important and interesting particulars regarding these two memorable battles, which gave Sindia such an ascendancy in the affairs of Rajputana. General De Boigne's letter, dated the 24th of June 1790, from Patan runs as follows:—

"Our various little skirmishes since the severe cannonade of 8th and 9th Ramzan are not, I hope, unknown to you. I have often tried to harass and surprise the enemy, but their naturally strong and almost impregnable situation, added to their very great

(1) General De Boigne rendered good services to Sindia while engaged in subduing the power of the native princes in Rajputana and the Moghal Sardars. But several far-sighted Marathas had always entertained legitimate doubts about the efficacy of the "Regular Army" under De Boigne and Sindia's European Officers in case an opportunity arose for hostilities between Sindia and the East India Company. The fears of the Maratha statesmen were realized at no distant date. In this connection, the reader would find much interest in the letter of Govind Rao, the Peshwa's envoy at Delhi:—"संजेश्री पाटिलबाबांनीं डिबाईस कंप देऊन ठेविले, व्याप्रसंगीं शहाजीनीं दुर्दशीनें सर्वे समस्त जबाब करून दिलेंच होतें कीं, डिबाईचा सर्वेसा एक रूप नसावा. कारण हें कीं बरकट ठिकाणीं हा चाकरांत कमती करणार नाही. परंतु ईश्रजोशीं कदाचित नाचाखी खाल्यास साफ फितूर करून निघून जाईल."

superiority in numbers, both in troops and artillery, rendered all my exertions fruitless. At last tired out of vexation, I determined to march from our ground in their columns, so as to form a line from the centre each with ease and celerity. In that way I advanced to a little more than cannon-shot distance from the enemy, where I formed my little army, consisting of two lines and a reserve, the Maratha horse in the rear and on our flanks. After waiting the best part of the day with impatient troops to see them marching against us as they had threatened; at last about 3 o'clock a few Maratha horses began to skirmish with the enemy's right wing consisting of horse which shortly increased from five to six thousand but they were soon beaten off. I was now encouraged to try if something better could not be done on our side, and in order to induce them to come from their stronghold, I ordered the advance after a warm cannonade of about an hour from both sides. The enemy not appearing to come out, I still advanced till we came within reach of grape-shot; then halting, we.....gave.....received from each gun nearly forty rounds of grape, which made it a warm business, we being on the plain and they in trenches. The enemy was now far advanced, and seeing at the same time such numerous bodies of the enemy's cavalry in motion, and ready to fall on us, if they could find an opening, I thought it prudent to move on rather quicker, which we did till the firing of platoons began. But we had already lost such numbers of people, principally kalashiss, that those remaining

were unable to drag the guns any further. I, therefore, gave immediate orders to storm the lines, sword in hand, which was soon executed, upon which the enemy not relishing at all the close fighting, gave way on all sides, infantry as well as cavalry, leaving us in possession of all their guns, baggage, bazar, elephants, and every thing else. The day being now closed put an end to the slaughter of the enemy, which must have been very considerable if we had an hour's more day light. However it was a complete victory.⁽¹⁾ Their cavalry after losing about 2,000 men and horses saved themselves by flight; the infantry who could not run so fast, took refuge in the town of Patan, strongly fortified; but in the morning they thought proper to give themselves up, and surrendered to me all their arms, colours, &c. Nine battalions and irregular troops, making above 1,800 men are now prisoners of war: I have promised to allow them safeguard to conduct them to the other side of the Jumna.

" The enemy's force consisted of 12,000 Rathor cavalry, 6,000 from Jaipur, 4,000 Moghals under Ismail Beg, and 8,000 under Alyhar Beg Khan, of Foot they had 12,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery, and with Ismail Beg 5,000 Tillingas and matchlock

(1) Yeshwant Rao Holkar, whose name is well enshrined in the pages of History, first saw the battle-field at Mairta and greatly distinguished himself here. Holkar's army gave much help to Sindia in this battle.

men with twenty-one pieces of artillery, 4,000 Rohillas, 5,000 Fakeers called Attyles Brakys, and Rajput Sybanders with eight pieces of cannon and 4,000 Minas who were of great service to the enemy, as the battle was given at the foot of the hills.

"My brigade was 10,000 strong. The Maratha cavalry stood on our flanks as spectators; they began the skirmish, in which they had only six men killed and forty wounded. Had it not been for two battalions of mine, who changed front when the enemy's cavalry was charging ours, the Marathas would have seen fine play."¹

"Our victory is astonishing! A complete victory gained by a handful of men, over such a number in such a position! It may surprise you when I say that in less than three hours' time 12,000...and 15,000 grape-shots were fired by us and by the enemy much more as they had two guns to our one."

"During all the engagement I was on horseback encouraging my men. Thank God, I have realised all the sanguine expectations of Sindia. My officers, in general, have behaved well; to them I owe a great deal, indeed, of the fortune of the day."

(1) There had been considerable difference of opinion amongst the officers of Sindia and Holkar in respect of the credit of this victory. De Boigne claimed the whole credit of this victory to his Brigade. *Vide* Todd's *Rajasthan*, page 654; "Letters, Memorandum, etc.," 345; Holkar's *Kaifiyat*, 57; Compton's *De Boigne*, 62.

" We have had 129 men killed and 472 wounded. The enemy not more, perhaps not so much as they were entrenched; but they have lost a vast number of cavalry.

" I have taken 107 pieces of artillery, 8,000 stand of arms, 253 colours, 15 elephants (amongst them are Ismail Beg's 5 elephants, 2,000 camels, 513 horses and above 3,000 oxen. I intend to send the whole to Sindia as soon as it may be practicable. All their camp was burnt or destroyed; they have absolutely saved nothing but their lives.

" The terror of our arms alone put us in possession of the town of Patan, in which the troops found a great deal of plunder, and nearly 2,000 horses. I would have required at any other time a month to take it; its fortifications being very strong, and defended by three hills close to each other. The place was never taken before."

Here we have done with the gallant De Boigne's description of the battle of Patan. De Boigne writes in a plain language, which to the reader may perhaps appear to be dull, but the description is a thoroughly honest one, free from the colour of partiality or exaggeration and untinged with any distortion of truth or perversion of facts.

" The Calcutta Gazette" which was to all intent and purposes, an official journal, the mouth-piece of the Government of Bengal, contains a significant account of the memorable battle of Mairta, written by

one of De Boigne's officers.⁴⁹ In its issue of the 17th September 1790, the Gazette published the following letter:

"We had laid close siege to Ameer for seventeen days, when the General, finding that the spirits of the

(1) Compton's "Military Adventurers of Hindustan." It is rather difficult to make an equitable distribution of the amount of credit amongst the three claimants: De Boigne, his Brigades, Sindia's Maratha army, and Holkar's troops, though it must be freely admitted that De Boigne deserves a great deal of credit for the success. It is, however, a sad spectacle to see the Marathas and the Rajputs engaged in this work of mutual destruction.

Baji Rao I had brought about friendly relations between the Marathas and the Rajputs whose united strength was sufficient to break the Moghal power even in 1720. It is especially worthy of notice that Baji Rao always countenanced a friendly attitude towards the Rajputs and the intimacy between him and the Raja of Jaipur is a well-known historical fact. *Vide* "Ranoji Rao Sindia" by the present writer. Mr. M. Taylore has also noticed this point in his "History of India," page 381, wherein he says:

".....Baji Rao strengthened himself by making alliances with all the Hindu princes, both in Rajputana and Bundelkhand....."

Sawai Jai Singh was a particular friend of Baji Rao I.

Principal Kanwar Sain, writing in the current number of *The Vedic Magazine*, describes the life and achievements of Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur who built the modern elegant city of that name and displayed a talent for learning especially in Mathematics and Astronomy. He came to the *gadi* of his ancestors in the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb and played no mean part in the wars and turmoils which followed that Emperor's death. In spite of various chances that came

army were upheld by the enemy taking the field at Mairta, left 2,000 horse to blockade Ajmeer, and marched against the enemy. Owing to scarcity of water, following on a famine and dry season, we had to make a circuitous route and did not reach Rio till the eight. About midnight, we re-commenced our march, and having marched very near to the enemy, a heavy cannonade commenced about nine o'clock in the morning. The Maratha chief was eager to march (advance) upon the enemy, but De Boigne objected,

to him for gaining advantages for himself, he remained loyal to the Delhi throne. Though he realised that the downfall of the Empire was inevitable, he refrained from meddling with imperial politics, and threw himself heart and soul, in beautifying his own capital, improving his administration and above all completing his astronomical works, tablets, almanacs and observatories. The *Jadur Mantar* near Safdar Jang's tomb in Delhi (literally the House of Instruments) was built by him. He is credited with having written some works on Hindu history and Hindu Law, but these works have not so far seen the light of day. His predecessors were equally illustrious before him; Bhagwan Das and his son, Man Singh, acquired great power and dignity at Akbar's court, and Mirza Raja Jai Singh won high distinction and favour at Aurangzeb's court and was so proud as to exclaim that both Delhi and Satara were in the hollow of his hands.

Successful in his military exploits which were not many, Sawai Jai Singh performed a Yajna in the place still marked as Yajnashala, wished to rival the Emperor's court by building at Amber palaces which in beauty of design and fineness of execution and conception excel many a famous edifice in Rajputana.

not only on account of the fatigue of the troops after a march of ten *kos* (twenty miles) but because of the intense heat and lateness of the hour, which would have prevented him from reaping the fruit of success. The enemy's force consisted of 30,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, and 23 pieces of cannon. On our side the same number of horse, 6,000 to 7,000 rank and file and 80 pieces of artillery. On the 10th at break of dawn, we were ordered to advance upon the enemy, the disposition of our troops being the same as at the memorable battle of Patan. A heavy cannonade soon commenced, supported on both sides with great vigour. Our first line of 50 pieces of cannon shortly after began to fire with grape, and by means of our superiority of guns, drove the enemy from their lines. But a French officer of Sindia elated with success, advanced without order of the line of battle at the head of three battalions. The enemy soon took advantage of his imprudence and charged him so vigorously that it was not without great difficulty that he effected his retreat. They then charged our main body in front, flanks, and rear, but General De Boigne's foresight and incomparable presence of mind were the means of saving us, for upon perceiving the error which his officer had committed, and no doubt aware of the consequences, he formed us into a hollows square, so that upon being surrounded shortly afterwards, we on all sides presented a front to the enemy.

“ About 9 o'clock they were obliged to quit the field, about 10 we got the possession of their camp,

and about 3 p. m. took the great and formidable town of Mairta by storm. The pillage lasted three days and to mention all the particulars attending it would make your teeth water. The ladies at first seemed displeased with our coming abruptly into the town, but at length grew more kind, acknowledging with good grace that none but the brave deserve the fair.

“The town of Mairta is much larger than Benares, surrounded by a thick mud rampart and parapet thirty feet high. It has two minarets, and the houses are all Pucca. In this engagement the attacking army lost six to seven hundred men, killed and wounded, mostly by the sabre. Gangaram Bhandari, the Commander-in-Chief of the Rathors, was taken on the 11th at night, endeavouring to make his escape in the guise of a servant. It is impossible for me to describe the facts of bravery performed by the Jerd Koperahwalas or forlorn hope of the enemy. I have seen, after the line was broken fifteen or twenty men return to charge a thousand infantry and advance to within ten or fifteen paces before all were shot. Captain Behore (Baours) who commanded the right wing, was wounded in the thigh and died..... Lieutenant Roberts was also severely wounded by a missile or weapon.....which is composed of about thirty six gun barrels so joined as to fire at once. The Rathors lost five chiefs, including the nephew of the Raja and the Baksee of the army.

These five, finding they could not escape, quitted their horses and fought with eleven other followers on foot till they were all cut to pieces. This great victory is solely to be attributed to the coolness and intrepidity of our general in making so complete a disposition of his force, in time to repel the rapid charge of the most courageous cavalry in the world. Ismail Beg arrived the day after the engagement at Nagora about two *kos* (four miles) distant."

The glorious victories at Patan and Mairta thoroughly established Mahadji's power in Rajputana and never again to his life's end he had any fear from that side. It is worthy of notice that the Rajputs never molested Sindia after their total defeats in two battles, the importance of which can never be ignored in the History of Gwalior.⁽¹⁾ Moreover it was these victories at Patan and Mairta that raised the drooping spirits of Mahadji and made him aspire to great military achievement.⁽²⁾ For the purpose

(1) Ismail Beg still tried his best to persuade Bijay Singh to continue the struggle with the Marathas. But Bijay Singh paid no heed to these nefarious counsels. A peace was concluded in the November of 1790 between the Marathas and Bijay Singh.

(2) "It was eventually augmented to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse and 600 Persian cavalry, with 200 pieces of artillery. This formidable force rendered Sindia the paramount native power in Hindustan, and the most important member of the Maratha body".....Marshman, page 231.

of fulfilling the object of his increased ambition, Mahadji ordered De Boigne to form two more Brigades, in addition to the one that was already in existence since the days of the glorious victory of Sindia over the forces of Ismail Beg at Agra. These Brigades made Sindia the most formidable military power in India and served to maintain intact the power and influence of Mahadji till the last moments of his life, notwithstanding the jealousy of Holkar and the exceedingly greedy designs and land-hunger of the Honourable East India Company. Moreover the formation of the "Invincible Brigades of Hindustan" spread Sindia's reputation far and wide and his movements began to attract attention not only in this country but in foreign courts also.

During the course of Mahadji's victorious career in Rajputana¹ he displayed one remarkable trait in his character—a trait which is found to be mixed with the character of every Hindu conqueror. It is often declared by many a writer that Mahadji's

(1) A short time after the victory at Mairta, the Fort at Ajmeer "Ajintara" was taken by the Marathas, its commander Dumrag committing suicide. The holy place of Pushkraj was also obtained by the Marathas. Bijay Singh paid a heavy indemnity of sixty lakhs of rupees for war expenses. The Marathas built a temple at Pushkraj near Ajmeer, and spent much in charity. Lakhobadada was appointed Subhedar of the conquered districts in Rajputana. Sindia repaired to his favourite place Mathura.

revenge was implacable. But we find that this statement was proved to be false, at least once, during Mahadji's lifetime, and that too at a period of his life, when he could most effectively have gratified the love of revenge to his heart's content. It is well known that Bijay Singh had shown himself, both by deeds and words, to be an inveterate foe not only of Mahadji but of the whole Sindia family. It was owing to the treacherous attempts of Bijay Singh that Jayappa was assassinated at Nagore in the year 1759. Moreover Mahadji's countless troubles in the Rajput Country were also more or less due to the restless activity of Bijay Singh, who had spared no pains to harass the Marathas. Mahadji knew well the hostile attitude of Bijay Singh, who, at no distant date, had to fall on Sindia's feet and quietly accept the terms of peace dictated by the Maratha Victor.⁽¹⁾ But Mahadji, though maddened with the thought of wreaking vengeance on Bijay Singh, did not stoop to destroy his inveterate foe's power root and branch, although undoubtedly the great Maratha chief could easily have done so at that time of his undoubted rise to power. Mahadji saved Bijay Singh's kingdom and forgave his former atrocious deeds. Beyond laying Jodhpur territory under a comparatively light tribute,

(1) Ambaji Ingle has played a conspicuous part in the Rajputana affairs. Tod gives details about Ingle's vast wealth and his good rule in Udaipur. Ambaji Ingle, however, fell on hard times in the regime of Mahadji's successor, Daulat Rao. *Vide* Tod's Rajasthan.

Mahadji did no injury either to the dynasty of the Rulers of Jodhpur or to the State.⁽¹⁾ This reminds us of the time of Baji Rao, who, with a rare magnanimity, saved the Nizam's territory, though this greatest Maratha leader after Shivaji had thoroughly humbled the nominal Deccan Viceroy in many a hard fought and glorious battle. This remarkable trait in the character of the Hindu conquerors, *viz.*, of saving the State of a defeated and humbled foe, is especially worthy of notice and reflects much credit on their restraint of political greediness. It ought to be remembered by our readers that no Hindu conqueror either of past or present times annexed the State of an humbled antagonist and did no other harm to the permanent interests of his State except levying a tribute and accepting a *Nazar*, the outward symbol of subordination and of acknowledgment of the conqueror's suzerainty.⁽²⁾ Such a course, of course,

(1) After the peace with the Rajputs, Mahadji divided his attention to the Settlement of the Provinces. Gopalrao Bhan Chitnis was appointed Sar Subhedar of the provinces and under him De Boigne, Lakhobadada, Jivbadada and Ambaji Ingle were appointed Subhedars. Having set his house in order, Sindia now seriously thought of going to Poona.

(2) It is a very agreeable episode of this period that the relations between Mahadji and the Rana of Udaipur remained, on the whole, amicable. Mahadji and the Rana visited Chitorgarh, where Umbaji Ingle had concerted measures for a good settlement, whereby Sindia was able

is grossly blamable according to the present ideas of conquest and Government inasmuch as the Hindu conquerors thereby allowed frequent opportunities to their vanquished foes to again make head against the conquering power and thus increased the responsibility of again subduing an enemy, who had been formerly beaten. It was owing to this hereditary leniency on the part of the Great Baji Rao as well as on that of the Great Mahadji Sindia that the defeated and humbled enemies of the Maratha Power were allowed again and again to molest their powerful conquerors, impede the path of the Maratha career of conquest and thus prove an obstacle to the proper consolidation of the Maratha Empire.¹⁰

to obtain the object of his mission and to secure the Rana's goodwill. Tod also mentions how Ambaji did good services at this time. *Vide* Tod's *Rajasthan*, page 445.

(1) Mahadji had given four main instructions to Umbaji Ingle, *viz.*, (i) The entire restoration of the Rana's authority and resumption of the crown lands from rebellious chiefs and mercenary Sindees : (ii) The expulsion of the pretender from Komulner : (iii) The recovery of Godwar from the Raja of Marwar : (iv) The settlement of the Bundi feud for the murder of Rana U'rsi.

" But the Gods heard also and would not suffer that a daughter of the line of Bapa Raval should be wedded to a cow-slaying infidel. So when the Rana was leaving the presence chamber, a flash of lightning seemed to play about him. He fell where he stood and when the terrified attendants ventured near, they beheld a blackened twisted corpse."—From the *Land of the Princes* by *G. Festing*.

Mahadji was now relieved from the countless anxieties and constant worry that disturbed his peace of mind during the wars with the Rajputs, ⁽¹⁾ and the Beg. Ismail Beg, though vanquished, was, however, still alive and at large, and Sindia expected that some trouble may come from that side but for a long time to come Beg could not venture to take any part in any movement against the Marathas.

After the cessation of hostilities and the formation of the new Brigades, Mahadji made over to General

(1) Mahadji's attention was engaged in the affairs of Udaypur through Zalam Singh of Kotah. The Saktawat party were in power at Udaypur and they desired to subdue the Chondawats. Mahadji sent Ambaji Ingle to help the Saktawats. Ingle humbled the Chondawats and took Hammirgarh and Busy and besieged the famous fort of Chitorgarh. Mahadji obtained great wealth from Udaypur. Ambaji Ingle was left behind to look after the affairs. For eight years Ingle's regime gave much satisfaction to the Darbar and the Raiyat at large. *Vide* Tod's Rajasthan, page 414 to 418, Vol. I (Edition of 1829). Ambaji Ingle amassed a hoard of wealth, amounting to two Crores.

"Zalam Singh, to gratify Mahadji's vanity who was desirous of a visit from the Rana, which even the Peshwa considered an honour, proceeded to Udaypur to effect this object." *Vide* Tod's Rajasthan, page 445.

"Ambaji remained eight years in Mewar enjoying its revenues and amassing those hoards of wealth, which subsequently gave him the lead in Hindustan"—Tod, page 447.

Zalam Singh took the ministers of the Udaypur Court to Mahadji at the holy place of Pushkraj and induced Sindia to come to Udaypur in person. Sindia accepted

De Boigne, the Districts in the Province of the Doab, yielding an annual income of 22 lacs of rupees, for the maintenance of the army under the General's command. Mahadji introduced several other reforms in his army and the details connected with these reforms are so interesting and important as to be set forth at some length. Suffice it to say here that many of the most important states immediately imitated Sindia, though on a small scale of course, by introducing discipline and other reforms in their armies.

the proposal and proceeded to the place where the Rana of Udaypur received Sindia with great pomp and ceremony.

The following letter would be interesting in this connection, as it expresses Ahilya Bai's views in this matter :—“राजश्री पाटिलबाबांनीं रु २० विसावी रविलावलीं चितोडचा किला धरून, खासगत लगी एक व राणाजीकडील निशाण व त्याजकडील लोक किल्ल्यावर लढविले. भीमसिंग रावत येऊन भेटले. राजश्री आबाजी गधुनाथ चिटणीस व राजश्री आंबोजी डंगळे यांचे मध्यस्थीनें किला हस्तगत झाला. भीमसिंगाचा खंड ऐन १०॥ लक्ष रुपये व दोन लक्ष दारुगोळा खर्च झाला. त्याचे पत्रांनीं बारा लक्ष रुपये करार केले. हे वर्तमान गंगाजळनिर्मळ अहिल्याबाई यांस कळल्यावर संतोष असतो. मेरठान यांजकडील, यांचे मार्फतीनें तेथील जाबमाल घडावा ते न झाले, या मुळे असतोप.”

पान १९६, M. D. P., Vol. II.

CHAPTER IX.

While Sindia was engaged in the affairs of Hindustan the Peshwa's Government was occupied in a war against the Sultan Tipu of Mysore. ⁽¹⁾ This war lasted from 1790 to 1792. Mahadji was opposed to the operations against the Sultan. He thought that the total destruction of Tipu's power might make the English more powerful as they would get rid of an enemy, who ably and successfully harassed them, and thus by engaging the English in hostilities with him, allowed much peace to the Maratha Empire. ⁽²⁾

The Peshwa, the English, and the Nizam had combined together to break the power of the Lion of Mysore, but the attempts against him were at first not very successful as the Maratha army under the gallant Hari Pant Phadke had been late in coming to aid Lord Cornwallis. Afterwards, however, the combined powers compelled Tipu to sue for peace,

(1) The reader would be immensely benefited by a perusal of the excellent work entitled "Aitihāsik-Lekh-Sangraha" published by the able and learned Pandit Wasudeo Waman Shastri Khare of Miraj in connection with the expeditions against Tipu Sultan.

(2) "Sindia persuaded the Peshwa that a serious mistake had been made in the late war in supporting the British power against Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and urged a closer connection with Tipu."—Roberts, page 240.

but the proposal to accept the Sultan's terms was not liked by Lord Cornwallis, ⁽¹⁾ who was bent on utterly destroying the power of the Sultan. Hari Pant was opposed to such an extremely harsh decision of the English Commander and strongly tried that peace should be made and the terms offered by Tipu should be accepted. The influence of the Maratha army and the ability of Phadke were instrumental in persuading Lord Cornwallis to accede to Hari Pant's wishes. ⁽²⁾

But between the commencement of the war with Tipu and its conclusion there was a short interval, which was not quite favourable to the invading army. Mahadji Sindia whose influence in Hindustan had now become enormous and whose plans were crowned with glorious success, desired to embrace such an

(1) The reader would be amused to read the following account of the Maratha Camp during the campaign against Tipu Sultan :—"The Bazar of the Mahratta army, rich with the spoils of India, presented a singular contrast to the poverty of the English Camp, and the provisions they brought, though sold at an exorbitant price, proved a seasonable relief to the famishing English soldiers"—**Marshman, page 222.**

(2) Nana Phadnavis had sent pressing letters to General Phadke to finish the campaign against Tipu Sultan as soon as possible, at least, before Sindia arrived at Burhanpur. Nana wanted to show to Sindia that the resources of the Poona Darbar were quite sufficient to meet such emergencies and also desired to have a strong force at Poona for the safety of the Ministry.

opportunity for showing it to all India that he could accomplish unaided what was not achieved by the English and their allies. This was also an excellent opportunity for him to gain an ascendancy over the rest of the Peshwa's Sardars and thus acquire great reputation in Maharashtra as he had in Hindustan. With this object in view Mahadji set to make preparations for an expedition to the South, but he was anticipated by Nana Phadnavis who sent orders to Hari Pant to the effect that the Peshwa's Government desired nothing more than that the Sultan Tipu should acknowledge the supremacy of the Poona Darbar and pay the tribute regularly. Nana also wrote to Hari Pant to bring the war to a speedy termination and to return to Poona before Mahadji reached Burhanpur ⁽¹⁾—an order which was, as is said above, completely executed to the satisfaction of the Poona Darbar, the English, and Tipu. It must, however, be mentioned that Nana was like Mahadji opposed to the extreme step of completely destroying Tipu's power and confiscating the whole of his territory. ⁽²⁾ Why Mahadji and Nana desired that Tipu should not be totally crushed has been already

(1) Hari Pant Phadke, the Peshwa's General with Lord Cornwallis in the Mysore Campaign, returned to Poona with the Maratha army on the 25th May, 1792, when Mahadji was in Hindustan.

(2) "Threatened as Tipu was with the loss of his kingdom he accepted the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis :—That he should surrender half his dominions,

डि. ए. ए. ए. वा. पोतवार,
ग्रंथ संग्रह

stated and needs no repetition here. But it should be mentioned here that though Nana and Mahadji had some political 'motives in retaining at least a semblance of Tipu's power, ⁽¹⁾ yet as Hindus they were not so hard-hearted as to destroy an enemy root and branch, while he continued to pay tribute and acknowledge the supremacy of the Peshwa. Again we repeat that this very feeling led Baji Rao I to save the Nizam though the Peshwa could easily have levelled him to the dust.

The great desire of Mahadji in the latter part of his life was to become the administrator-general of the Maratha Empire. This office was at this time most ably occupied by the illustrious Maratha statesman, Nana Phadnis. Mahadji's efforts were now busily directed to the accomplishment of the object he had in view ⁽²⁾ and he thought it advisable to repair to Poona and to gain the favour of his young

pay a war indemnity of three crores, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The generals of the Peshwa and the Nizam left the negotiations entirely with the English plenipotentiary. . . . Lord Cornwallis made over a third of the indemnity, as well as, of the territory to each of his confederates, annexing only one-third, of the annual value of 40 Lakhs of rupees to the Company's territory" — Marshman, page 225.

(1) "The Maratha Sardars demanded an advance of 14 Lakhs of rupees, which Lord Cornwallis was constrained to make to prevent the transfer of their alliance to Tipu" — Marshman.

(2) "The Nana and the Ministers could not view without disgust the acceptance of honours by the head of the

master, the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao. He left Hindustan with a large army and pursued the journey to Poona. Gradually however he was induced to diminish the strength of his escort in order to allay suspicion and jealousy. He proceeded by very slow marches and arrived at Poona on the 13th of June 1792, and pitched his camp near Sangum, the place assigned by the Peshwa for the residence of the British envoy at his Court.⁽¹⁾ Next day, 14th June, Sindia went to the Palace to pay his respects to his master and introduced the subject

Maratha power from the puppet of an Emperor, but their opposition was unavailing. Sindia had gained a complete ascendancy over the young Peshwa by his cheerful and genial demeanour which formed a strong contrast to the stern and morose bearing of the Prime Minister, Nana Phadnavis"—Marshman, p. 231. What has Mr. Keene to say on this point?

".....The expectations of Tipu Sultan at this juncture were elevated to a degree of confident assurance that the day of vengeance upon the English was at hand, and the letter written to him by Napoleon Buonaparte from Cairo was of itself a decisive proof that the best understanding subsisted between the French revolutionary Government and the principal Native powers in India. In that letter the Tipu Sultan was informed that his good friends were arrived on the borders of the Red Sea, full of the desire to release and relieve him from the iron yoke of England; at the same time requesting an intelligent agent to be sent to Egypt for the purpose of holding a conference."—Thorn's Memoir of the War, p. 31.

(1) "The Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao went in state as far as Ganesh Khind to receive Mahadji Sindia, who placed his

about the Peshwa's investiture with the High Office of Vakil-i-Mutalique. He wanted to make a grand display of his power and make the ceremony of investiture as solemn and magnificent as possible. Nana and several other Maratha Sardars and Mankaris were opposed to the acceptance of this title and office. Mahadji over-ruled all objections by obtaining directly the permission of the Raja of Satara, sanctioning the acceptance by the Peshwa of all the honours and titles which Sindia had brought from Delhi. There the opposition finally ended and Mahadji was able to formally invest the Peshwa with the office and title. The immediate effect of all these proceedings was that the young Peshwa was highly pleased with Mahadji, who henceforth ranked very high in his master's estimation. There was thus every probability of Mahadji's desire being on the high road to success. Sindia had thus the

head on the Peshwa's feet and the Peshwa put his pearl necklace round Sindia's neck."

“ पाटिलबाबांनी श्रीमंताने पायावर ठेविले वटविले आणि भेटले; श्रीमंतानीं आपले गळ्यांतील मोठ्यांची माळ पाटिलबाबांच्या गळ्यांवर घातल्या. ”

Vide Itihas Sangraha.

About Sindia's motives in visiting Poona, Compton says as follows :— “ Simultaneously cabals and intrigues set on foot at the Peshwa's Court at Poona...So successful were the conspirators that Sindia soon found it necessary to proceed to the Capital to protect his own interests..... Sindia's ambition comprehended an assertion of power not merely in Hindustan but over the whole of the Maratha dominions and Holkar's hostility neutralized in the South all that De Boigne's success had wrought in the North...”

satisfaction of feeling that his efforts and arduous journey from Mathura to Poona were not in vain.⁽¹⁾ It cannot be foreign to the object of this work to consider how far Mahadji was right in inducing the Peshwa to accept the office.⁽²⁾ It is also necessary to see how far Nana and the old Maratha Mankaris of Satara were right in opposing such an acceptance. It is not at all an arduous task to deliver a judgment on such a point. A mere comparison of the position of the Peshwa with that of Shah Alum is enough to show clearly whether the conduct of Mahadji was right or wrong. It is beyond the pale of contradiction that the old helpless Emperor was totally at the mercy of the Peshwa's Government. He was a pensioner under Sindia's protection. He was thus in fact a dependent on the Peshwa's Sardar. Nana and other Mankaris therefore were quite justified in opposing

(1) Mahadji took the "Gadhi" (a small fortress) at Satwas by turning out the garrison placed there by Ahilya Bai Holkar. This conduct of Sindia had given much cause for rousing Ahilya Bai's indignation. "हा मेव्य पुनः हिंदुस्तान पाहणा नार्ही." These prophetic words were uttered by her in the excess of her wrath. *Vide* Holkar's Kaifiyat, page 59.

(2) The letter of the Peshwa's Vakil Govindrao Kale of Hyderabad is very interesting in this connection. Holkar's view, as disclosed in his letter, dated 5th July 1792, was the same as that of the other Maratha Sardars, who did not think much of the Vakil-i-Mutalique. Sindia's view prevailed, as the Peshwa naturally wished to desist from disappointing a successful Sardar like Sindia whose achievements were certainly entitled to great consideration.

the acceptance of the office, by which the Peshwa, the virtual ruler of Hindustan, was to be declared as the Vicerent of the titular Emperor. Moreover the Peshwa was the Prime Minister of the descendant of the great Shivaji Maharaj and it was below his dignity to be the Deputy of any other power.¹¹ Moreover being the Prime Minister of Satara, the Peshwa could not, as Nana rightly held, accept the title of Maharaja-dhi-raj. Nana boldly declared that there was one Maharaja-dhi-raj and that was the person who occupied the throne of the great Shivaji Maharaj. Further it is also possible that a patriot like Nana who gave a solemn promise to the Peshwa Madhav Rao Ballal on his death-bed that no efforts would be spared after the great Peshwa's death to extirpate the Moghal power in India, might have deemed it unworthy of the Peshwa to be declared as a deputy of the pageant Emperor, who was suffered to exist as a mere symbol of authority—a tool in the

(1) In the Bakhar of the Bhoslas of Nagpur it is mentioned that Sindia was plotting against the Poona Ministry and Nizam's Diwan Mashir-ul-Mulk was fomenting the plot. This appears to be, on the face of it, a mere rumour, as the Bakhar is not supported by any other reliable evidence. There is no reliable evidence about Sindia's intimacy with the crafty Mashir-ul-Mulk. Mahadji Sindia was too proud to condescend to do so.

It would not be altogether safe to understand Mahadji Sindia's motives on the basis of the evidence supplied by the "Kailiyat of Holkar" or the "Bakhar of the Nagpur Bhoslas" and that too for very obvious reasons.

hands of the Marathas—in order that the fiction of governing in his name might be preserved.⁽¹⁾ The great aim of Shivaji, Baji Rao I, and Madhav Rao was the subversion of the Moghal power. That aim was now gained. It was, therefore, something like an insult to the Ruler of the Maratha nation to be solemnly proclaimed as the supreme deputy of the titular Emperor. The great Mahadji was, therefore, considered to have made a mistake in insisting on the formal acceptance of the office of Vakil-i-Mutalique with such pomp and ceremony. Such was the opinion of the Maratha Sardars.⁽²⁾

The reign of Sawai Madhav Rao, who was born on the 18th of April 1774, at Purandar, was especially looked upon by the Marathas with great and proud regard. The cause of it is not far distant to seek. It is true, greatest deeds of valour were performed by Baji Rao I, Madhav Rao, Ranojirao Sindia, and Malhar Rao Holkar; formidable enemies like the Nizam-ul-Mulk and Hydar Ali were totally vanquished by the victorious Marathas; but during all these times a strong master was present to exact service

(1) The Marathas ruled the Empire by ruling the Emperor.

(2) For a detailed account about this splendid Darbar, see the Peshwa's Bakhar. The writer of this Bakhar, however, makes specific mention of several inauspicious omens that followed the Grand Darbar in which the Peshwa was declared as "Maharaja-dhi-raj, etc." There was a dire famine from July 1792 to October 1793. Inscrutable are the ways of Providence.

from the many Maratha Sardars. Now for a long time there was virtually no Peshwa. The Maratha Government was a common-wealth. Fortunately for Maharashtra Ganga Bai gave birth to a male child, the heir to the vacant Peshwaship. During the career of Sawai Madhav Rao⁽¹⁾ innumerable dangers encompassed the Maratha Empire. But through the admirable skill and valour of Mahadji,⁽²⁾ the uncommon ability of Nana, and the unswerving attachment of the rest of the Peshwa's Sardars, all these calamities were completely overcome. The Peshwa's Government had for the first time, since the foundation of the Maratha Empire, to undertake the arduous task of opposing the encroachment of the East India Company backed by the powerful British nation. Through the "Divine grace" and the "good luck"

(1) In my publication entitled "The Marathas and the Moghals" I have cursorily mentioned that the Peshwa could not be kept under restraint by Nana and that he did not commit suicide by throwing himself from the palace. There was no reason for the Peshwa to go to such an extreme. Tukoji Holkar's letter to his son at Indore shows that the rumour of suicide is wrong and groundless. The Peshwa had powerful Sardars like Sindia, Holkar and others and it was impossible for Nana to do so. *Vide* Vol. 18, B.I.S.M.

(2) Mr. Khare's words in this connection are worthy of notice:—"पुणेंद्रचा तह ठरल्यानेतर मात्र मद्राडची शिष्टांनी पेशवाडचे संरक्षणाचा जो बाणा धरला तो सरेपर्यंत सोडला नाही. वडगांवचे लढाईत, गुजराथच्या स्वार्गित, माळव्यांतले लढायांत त्याने फारच चांगली मदती केली व ईश्रजावर आपला दगारा बसविला." See "the Ballads of the Marathas" by Ackworth and Shaligram.

of Sawai Madhav Rao, the Marathas were completely victorious in all the engagements with the British Army in the Deccan. Mahadji was gloriously successful in Hindustan. Parshrambhan Patwardhan and Hari Pant Phadke were equally successful in defeating Tipu Sultan and the other foes in the Southern Provinces. Thus in the Peshwa's reign the Maratha power again reached its zenith. The singleness and integrity of purpose which was displayed by all the Maratha nation at this time is worthy of the highest applause and when they said, in the jubilation of their hearts, that the "good luck" of this Peshwa was irresistible, they had sufficient reason to say so. ⁽¹⁾

During his stay at Poona, Mahadji tried his best to gain the confidence of the young Peshwa. ⁽²⁾

(1) *Vide* "Ballads of the Marathas" by Ackworth. The poet of Maharashtra (Prabhakar) gives a very impressive and glowing description of this Peshwa's extraordinary good luck and the success of his regime and the efficacy of his name. "कबहुँ साग्य राखीने । बहेकडे सवक यशस्वी होली हे पुण्य व्या पायाने ॥ करिवो स्मरण जयावे । काही की काम ज्ञाया असे बलवत्तर नांव जयावे."

(2) Mahadji Sindia's splendid success in Hindustan and his great influence with the Peshwa were certainly the source of much jealousy and were galling to many, who harboured latent antipathy towards Sindia and gave rise to several wild rumours which obtained circulation and were believed in distant parts without any proof of their truth or falsehood. These rumours sometimes were believed by the Vakils of the various powers that were stationed at the Poona Darbar and hence much misunderstanding had arisen. A careful student of Maratha History must bear this fact in mind.

Here it would be far more desirable to see what observations Captain Grant Duff makes in connection with this matter: "The frank, unreserved manners of Sindia, who talked to the young prince of hunting and halking, and carried him out on frequent excursions to see those field-sports, were things so very different and so much more agreeable than the sedate and grave observances of decorum habitual to Nana Phadnavis that Sindia soon became his constant companion." These weighty words give a direct lie to the obviously unsupported statement of Mr. H. G. Keene that "the Peshwa's mind was, at this time, embittered against Mahadji Sindia."⁽¹⁾

While Sindia was passing his time cheerfully in the vicinity of his master, the Peshwa, several circumstances occurred, which were likely to cast a gloom over Mahadji's mind. Nana began to entertain feelings of suspicion towards Sindia owing to the latter's great intimacy and influence with the Peshwa, but Hari Pant Phadke, who was a common friend of both Nana and Mahadji, always interposed his powerful influence and succeeded in removing any misunderstanding that arose between Sindia and

(1) *Vide* page 230 of Keene's "The Fall of the Moghal Empire." The Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao was never displeased with Sindia. Grant Duff's words are supported by those of the Maratha writers. Mr. Keene cites no authority for his bold assertion and it is therefore but natural that it must be declared to be wrong and groundless.

the Phadnavis. ⁽¹⁾ Holkar and Ali Bahadur, who were faithful partisans of Nana, quarrelled with Mahadji's Generals in Hindustan. Tukoji Holkar taking advantage of Sindia's absence from Hindustan, stirred up the restless spirit of Ismail Beg to disturb Sindia's possessions. Hostilities, therefore, again began to take place between Sindia's army and Beg but the career of the latter was cut short sooner than was at first expected. ⁽²⁾

Before returning to the description of the important incidents that took place during the stay of Mahadji at Poona, it would be more befitting to note how Beg's power was disposed of for good by the Generals of Sindia, who were entrusted with the task of maintaining peace and order in the extensive dominions of Mahadji in Hindustan. The widow of Najab Kuli Khan refused to surrender the fort of

(1) Nana Phadnavis desired to go to Benares and had obtained the Peshwa's permission on 31st October 1792. But Sindia who was fully aware of Nana's ability and services to the Empire was the first to strongly oppose the pilgrimage. Does not this fact fully prove that Sindia and Nana knew each other's worth and had undoubted regard for each other ?

(2) "Meanwhile Holkar saw his opportunity and struck his blow profiting by the absence of his rival, he advanced on Hindustan; and summoning Ismail Beg like an evil spirit from his temporary obscurity, he hurled him upon the country round the capital, while he himself lost no time in forcing a rupture with Sindia's civil deputy in Rajputana"Keene.

Kanaud to Sindia's officers.⁽¹⁾ A force marched against her under Perron, the officer second-in-command to General De Boigne. Ismail Beg advanced to her assistance and was received by her with open arms. Beg made bold to give a battle to Perron outside the walls, and being defeated by Sindia's officers re-entered the fort. He assisted in the defence of the fort, which was well maintained until the widow, the sole supporter of Beg, was killed by a stone shell, when the garrison became dissipated by the fatal accident and began to think of betraying Ismail Beg to ensure favourable terms for themselves. This treachery, however, Ismail Beg prevented by giving himself up to Perron who promised, on the faith of his commanding officer De Boigne that Beg would not be put to death. The terms granted to Beg were rigidly observed by De Boigne, but Beg was, after this engagement, confined in the Fort of Agra, where he died in 1799.⁽²⁾

Soon after the surrender of Kanaud, Mahadji's Generals had to face a more formidable danger from

(1) This lady was a sister of Ghulam Kadir and was, like her brother, bold and unscrupulous. Ismail Beg was successful in collecting a force 20,000 strong with thirty pieces of cannon. Perron lost no time in attacking the Beg's army.

(2) Mahadji Sindia had ordered that Ismail Beg should be put to death as soon as he was apprehended, but De Boigne's intercession prevailed in saving Beg's life. Sindia sanctioned Rs. 600 per mensem for Ismail Beg's expenses.

Tukoji Holkar's army. It has already been mentioned that the troops of Sindia and Holkar were engaged in Rajputana. The combined forces of these two Sardars had succeeded in taking two hill fortresses, in which they came across an enormous treasure. ⁽¹⁾ As is usual, a dispute arose with regard to the share of each in the booty. The dispute assumed a serious aspect and could not be compromised. It ultimately culminated in open hostilities. Both the armies prepared for battle and met at a pass called Lakherce, near Ajmeer. An obstinate conflict ensued. Sindia's troops were thrown into great confusion by the explosion of twelve tumbrils of ammunition, but their position being exceedingly safe and almost unassailable, Holkar's troops could not take any advantage of such an accident. Sindia's army, which was commanded by Gopal Rao Bhau, De Boigne and others, was victorious at last, though Holkar's battalions under M. Du-Drence fought very bravely to a man. Holkar's guns, 38 in number, were taken and the discomfiture of his troops was almost

(1) Owing to Sar Subhedar Gopalrao Bhau's insolent conduct, there was some friction between Sindia's and Holkar's officers. Holkar's Sardar Khushal Kunwar was, at this time, halting in Sindia's territory. Gopalrao Bhau sent a force 5,000 strong under Luckha Dada to attack Sardar Khushal Kunwar. Such and similar incidents brought about a very serious situation, which resulted in the battle of Lakheri and for some time ruined the brotherly tie between Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar.

Mahadji Sindia is in no way responsible for the high-handed and imprudent conduct of his officers in

complete. ⁽¹⁾ Holkar wiped away this disgrace by sacking the holy city of Ujjain, then the capital of Sindia's dominions in Malwa. Thus in Mahadji's absence from Hindustan, the Maratha armies in Rajputana were busily engaged in cutting one another's throats and weakening their own power. De Boigne was magnanimous enough to declare that of all the actions that he had witnessed, the one that was fought with Du-Drenec's raw recruits, was the most obstinate. ⁽²⁾

Such was the state of Mahadji's affairs in Hindustan at this time. Now let us turn to the interesting task of noting how Sindia was progressing

Hindustan. The very fact that Sindia punished Gopalrao Bhau for bringing matters to such an unpleasant situation very well points out that Sindia never desired to break with Holkar.

(1) Mahadji Sindia was extremely sorry to hear the distressing account of this battle between the armies of Sindia and Holkar. "आपसांत कटकट करून जन्माने भाऊपणांत पाणी घातलें ! तोफा सोडाव्या असें मला वाटत नाहीं. यावर सुभेदाराची माझी भेट होत नाहीं." Sindia was greatly moved when uttering these words—Gopalrao Bhau was put in custody at Bhilsa and Jivaba Dada recalled to Poona.

(2) This battle took place on the 20th of September 1792. De Boigne was present and was wounded in the action. Sindia's force consisted of 20,000 Cavalry, De Boigne's Brigade (of 9,000 men) and 80 guns. Holkar had 30,000 horse, four thousand infantry and several guns. Holkar's officer Du-Drenec was present along with Kashirao Holkar, Malhar Rao Holkar and Tukoji Holkar. Malhar Rao Holkar was killed in this action.

in the capital of the Deccan and how the Peshwa, whom we have already described as being on terms of great intimacy with Mahadji Sindia, was warmly appreciating Sindia's loyal services and attention.

Mahadji had well nigh succeeded in gaining the complete favour of the young Peshwa, who liked Sindia's frankness and jovial disposition. This gave rise to a feeling of jealousy and consequent estrangement between Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji. ⁽¹⁾

An important event occurred at this very time which went a long way to add fuel to the already kindled fire. One day while Sindia alone was with the Peshwa in a boating excursion on Loghur lake, the former, confident of his master's good graces, availed himself of the golden opportunity by broaching the subject, which always was uppermost in Sindia's mind at this time. Mahadji described in detail how the master of Maharashtra, the most powerful monarch in India, was kept under a close restraint by Nana and expressed his desire to free his master from such a thralldom. But Sawai Madhav Rao, the joy and hope of Maharashtra, withstood the tempting advice

(1) Compton thinks that Gopalrao Bhau was put under arrest for carrying on intrigues with Nana Phadnavis and mentions that De Boigne was appointed Sar Subhedar of the Sindia's Provinces. Maratha authorities allege that Jagannathram and Lackbad Dada were appointed jointly to carry on the civil administration and De Boigne was made chief of the Sindia's army.

of the Great Mahadji. ⁽¹⁾ The Peshwa's most thoughtful and appropriate reply, which reflects the greatest credit on him and be-speaks his intelligence and foresight, especially when his tender age and political inexperience are taken into consideration, finally quieted the uncontrollable ambition of Sindia. The famous reply given by the young Peshwa was couched in the following terms: "What you propose," said Sawai Madhav Rao, "is quite right, but my intention relating to this affair, I will now express to you. In my opinion Nana and Mahadji represent my two hands, the two pillars on which my Empire rests. As long as both of them continue to work smoothly, I have not the least anxiety with regard to the well-being and prosperity of my Empire; but if one of them is disabled or removed, the whole burden of the State will devolve on me. Let, therefore, everything continue as before and do not even think of trying to disturb the present state of affairs." This reply subdued Sindia's ambition without in any way displeasing him. It prevented Mahadji from carrying on any further attempts ⁽²⁾ for ousting Nana from

(1) *Vide* Peshwa's Bakhar, page 166. The account given in the Peshwa's Bakhar is supported by that in the Bakhar of the Bhoslas of Nagpur and both the Bakhars unequivocally allege that the Peshwa's reply and General Hari Pant Phadke's efforts were successful in confirming the reconciliation between Nana and Mahadji.

(2) "यापुढे दरबार नित्याप्रमाणे चालू झाले व एक दिवस अर्निवार याकांत पाटिलरावा, नाना, हरीपंत यांच्या एकांताने भेटी होऊन आपण झाली. त्या बैठकीने

power. The flattering terms, in which the young Peshwa spoke of Sindia,⁽¹⁾ filled the heart of the latter with exultation and drove away all his feelings of jealousy towards Nana. How true as well as how opportune was this reply may be imagined by the reader. But besides being true and opportune, it was also something more. It was also truly prophetic as the fall of the Maratha Empire began with the fall of the two pillars—Nana and Mahadji.

The intelligence of all these secret attempts on the part of Mahadji reached the ears of the timid but wise Nana Phadnavis who was much alarmed. Nana, like Mahadji, was inordinately ambitious, and loved power and position, but his anxiety for the safety and welfare of the Maratha Empire was greater than his love of power. Nana, therefore, unaware as he was of the Peshwa's reply to Sindia,⁽²⁾ resolved to

त्रिवर्गीचीं बोलणीं परस्पर होऊन तिघांचे चित्ताची प्रांजलता झाली. कोणाचे चित्तास कारभाराविषयी कांहीं एक किंत् राहिला नाहीं. पुढें तिघेही उठून श्रीमंतांजळ आरसे मनालांत गोष्टी सांगत बसले.”—Peshwa's Bakhar, page 166.

(1) Mahadji Sindia regarded Sawai Madhav Rao Peshwa with religious reverence. It would be interesting to the reader to see what the able author of Mahadji's life (The Hon'ble Mr. V. R. Natu) says on this point.—“श्रीमंत मवाई साधवराव हे अवतारी पुरुष आहेत अशी पाटिलबाबांची व त्या वंळच्या पुष्कळ लोकांची समजूत होती व संकट समयी पाटिलबाबा त्यांचें स्मरण करीत अशी बाबल्याविका आहे.” Page 257.

(2) Grant Duff says that the Peshwa and Mahadji had a prolonged discussion on this subject in the Lohgaon Lake. Mr. Natu mentions that the episode took place when they were rowing in the tank behind Hirabag in Poona, and

proceed to Benares so that there may be no cause for a fatal friction between him and Sindia. Nana clearly foresaw that there would undoubtedly be a great danger to the State if such unpleasant relations continued between him and Mahadji. Taking all these things into consideration, Nana proceeded to the Peshwa's palace to acquaint his master of his desire to proceed to the holy city of Benares and to end his old age in the service of the Almighty. The Peshwa was overcome with feelings of sincerest affection and regard for the great minister, when Nana told Sawai Madhav Rao that he had come to take his master's leave before going on sacred pilgrimage. With tears in his eyes, the young Peshwa asked Nana the reason of such a rash and unexpected undertaking. Nana Phadnavis observed as follows:—

“Sindia wants to be your Prime Minister and I have no objection to his being so. My remaining in Poona would give rise to friction and so I have determined to end my days in the holy city of Benares.”⁽¹⁾ My last hope and wish is that your

that none else except the boatman was present, when the Peshwa and Mahadji had discussed the subject. Page 263, Nana's Life.

(1) Sindia made a clean breast of all his aims in his talk with General Hari Pant Phadke.—“पाटिलबाबांनी आपला तसा हतू होता, तरी ज्या अर्थी स्वतः श्रीमंतांचीही मर्जी नाही त्या अर्थी आपण ती खटपट करीत नाही, असे स्वच्छ मनाने सांगितल्यावर, परस्परांच्या आणा भाका होऊन

Empire may prosper and that it may have no trouble from my side."

The Peshwa assured Nana of his regard for the Minister and informed him of the reply, which he (the Peshwa) had given to Mahadji's request. He further assured Nana not to be discontented by hearsay reports and distinctly gave him to understand that henceforth Sindia would, in no way, thwart Nana's views.

But Nana still entertained fears about Mahadji's conduct and could not be fully satisfied about Sindia's sincerity.⁽¹⁾ At last the illustrious General Hari Pant Phadke had to interpose his great influence with Mahadji for bringing about a complete reconciliation between Nana and Sindia.⁽²⁾ As soon as Hari Pant came to know about Nana's determination to leave office and proceed to Benares, the former advised the

पुष्कळ रात्रकीय गोष्टींचा विचार आला. नंतर पाटिलबाबांनी नालांस वस्त्रं व जवाहीर देऊन निरोप दिला."

This famous and historic interview between Sindia and Phadke led to very excellent result.

(1) Sindia's conduct in the Sachiva affair as well as in the case of Govindrao Gaekwad was opposed to Nana's policy. But Sindia's view prevailed. Sindia is alleged to have accepted a Nazar of three Lakhs from Govindrao Gaekwad. See Wallace's Gaekwad, page 69.

(2) General Phadke deserves to be highly extolled for his indefatigable exertions in bringing about friendly relations between Nana and Mahadji after removing the misunderstanding between them.

alarmed Phadnis to take heart and remain as before in the office of the Peshwa's Premier. Thereupon Hari Pant went to the camp of Mahadji at Sangam at a time when the meridian sun was shining with all his force. Sindia had just finished his meals and was resting himself, when the Chopdar hastily entered the tent and announced that Hari Pant Phadke's palanquin was coming towards Mahadji's tent. Sindia could not fathom the reason of such a visit from Hari Pant at such an inconvenient hour. He hastily put on his turban and came out of his tent to receive Phadke, the most amiable and good-hearted gentleman of his time and a friend of all the parties except that of Raghoba. The meeting between Mahadji and Hari Pant was of a most cordial nature.⁽¹⁾ Sindia refused to sit on his Gadi in the presence of Tatya. Many political questions were discussed during the course of the interview and Tatya availed himself of such an opportunity by explaining to Sindia the reason of his coming to Sindia's camp in the heat of midday.⁽²⁾ Hari Pant made bold to assure Mahadji that Nana was

(1) Sindia, with great surprise, asked Phadke the reason of such an unexpected visit at that inconvenient hour, when the latter said :—“अहो बाबा, यावयाचें कारण तुम्हीं सरकारचा कागभार करणार, नानांनी व मी कागभारांत नसावे. आम्हीं उभयतां सरकारचें अपराधी, म्हणून तुम्हापाशीं आलों. काय पागिपत्य करावयाचें असेल ते करावे, कोणी कडून श्रीमंतांचें राज्य निर्विघ्नपणें चालवें हा आमचा संकल्प आहे.”

(2) Parshurambhau Patwardhan fully knew that Sindia and Nana were lifelong friends and that their temporary disagreement would soon melt away: (नानांचा व शिंद्यांचा ऋणानुबंध चांगला. ते ते स्वच्छतेनें आहेत या पक्षीं सर्व नीटच होईल. श्रीमंतांचें पुण्य विचित्र आहे.) *Vide* B. I. S. M. Vol. 18, page 92.

the fittest person to be at the head of the administration at such a critical time. He represented to Sindia that if Nana were ousted from office and if Mahadji came to fill it, Holkar, Ali Bahadur,⁽¹⁾ and many others of the Peshwa's Sardars, who were not on good terms with Sindia, would be greatly enraged and the consequences of such a dissatisfaction would be certainly fatal both personally to Mahadji as well as to the Maratha Empire.⁽²⁾ Sindia was fully convinced of the danger, which his uncontrollable ambition would draw on him as well as his master by an attempt to deprive Nana of his office. The valuable advice, given so candidly by Tatya, was readily received by Sindia, who assured Hari Pant that henceforth the attempts to displace Nana would certainly cease. Mahadji with the view of endorsing his statements, swore 'by the feet of Sawai Madhav Rao,' and solemnly declared that Nana who was his old friend and the supporter of

(1) Even Mr. Keene admits that as a statesman Nana Phadnavis was "almost a match for the Patil in ability and had an undoubted superiority in the much greater unity of his objects."

(2) "Sindia's prosperity and the completeness of his army were now viewed with intense jealousy by Holkar and he took Cavalier Du Drence into his service, for the purpose of raising a similar disciplined force to that of his rival. Holkar was the favourite at Poona and was employed by Nana Phadnavis to operate as a check against Sindia's power....."—Meadows Taylor, page 529.

"Mr. Taylor's statement is partly true and partly false. Holkar was the favourite at Poona but Nana never employed him against Sindia."

his party, would have no cause of fear from Sindia's side. Four days after this memorable interview between Mahadji and Hari Pant Phadke, Sindia paid a visit to Nana Phadnavis, when "Bel Bhandar"⁽¹⁾ was exchanged between them and all suspicion was finally dispelled from each other's mind. Nana and Mahadji frequently visited each other after this reconciliation, which was never interrupted till the last breath of Sindia and Nana Phadnavis.

Hari Pant Phadke rendered an invaluable service to the Maratha Empire by successfully bringing about friendly relations, which were temporarily disturbed by the unmanagable vehemence of ambition, between Sindia and Nana. But for Phadke, Nana would never have been satisfied as to the safety of his position, and Sindia also would not have been so fully convinced of the danger of the position after which he was hankering. But Phadke, the gallant Phadke, the mighty pillar of the State and the friend of all, was present on the scene and through his endeavours a great calamity to the Maratha Empire passed away very easily.⁽²⁾

(1) "Bel Bhandar" is the strongest form of oath amongst the Hindus and Mahadji Sindia, a pious Sardar, took that oath. याच सुमाराम राजकारस्थानी नानांचे व रणधीरवीर पाटिलबाबांचे निखालस पेंकयमत झाले. हरीपंत तात्यांनी हा योग जमवून आणिला.

Khare's *Aitihāsik Lekh-Sangraha* No. 3636.

(2) Poona was plunged into a ceaseless round of gaceties, Darbars, processions, fireworks and banquets, of which the Peshwa's Bakhar gives a graphic description. The reconciliation of Sindia with Nana enhanced the charm of all these festivities and the capital of the Maratha Empire witnessed scenes of unparalleled splendour and magnificence.



Nana Phadnavis.

CHAPTER X.

Nana and Mahadji are two illustrious names in the History of the Marathas, so closely associated together that the recall of one of them to the memory inseparably brings the other with it. It cannot, therefore, be out of place to make an attempt (*a*) to compare their character, (*b*) to arrive at an approximate estimate of the work they have performed in the interest of the Maratha Empire, and (*c*) to know what they owed to each other.⁽¹⁾

(*a*) Both Nana and Mahadji were extremely pious and so resembled each other in this respect. They were liberal in gifts and most simple in their habits. The best way to know their character is to study their various achievements. Whatever their personal views of aggrandisement may be, both of them were patriots, and as such, deeply interested in the unity and stability of the Maratha Empire, and hence they are entitled to hold a prominent place in the estimation of the Marathas especially and of the Hindus generally. The ambition of both of them was inordinate. Sindia depended for the realisation of his views on the strength of his arms, while Nana on that of his head. Sindia was bold and daring.

(1) ".....Now Nana Phadnavis, the ablest of all the former Ministry, was supreme and he prepared himself for the conflict with the English..."—Meadows Taylor, page 491.

Nana was timid and yielding. They resembled each other in many respects, but in point of courage and bravery Nana greatly differed from Mahadji. Mahadji's revenge was occasionally implacable, while Nana was often forgiving. They were thoroughly loyal to the Peshwa and knew perfectly well the meaning of the proverb "Union is Strength."

(b) Both Nana and Mahadji have done excellent work for Maharashtra. It may be said without fear of contradiction that Mahadji learnt his first lessons in politics from Madhav Rao I and Nana.⁽¹⁾ Mahadji was entirely guided by Nana during his earlier years. Sindia, at first, carried out only what

(1) *I*de Grant Duff. In connection with Mahadji Sindia's death, Mr. C. W. Malet reports on 12th February 1794, as follows:—"This serves purposely to communicate the important event of the death of Mahadji Sindia at about 8 o'clock this evening, and to request that you will be pleased to cause the enclosed address for the chairman of the Court of Directors to be forwarded by the vessel for Suez if not yet sailed." Page 537, Forrest's Selections.

"The aim of Mahadji Sindia was clearly that of establishing the Maratha authority over the whole of India; and to accomplish this vast scheme of ambition, he certainly made rapid strides before the universal conqueror put a stop to his course. But neither did the design nor the danger expire with this furbulent chief who left his nephew Daulatrao Sindia to carry on the scheme which he had projected with ample means for the completion of it and a fair promise of success, as far as power, influence and concurrence of circumstances could give any assurance.....Little is to be apprehended from their hostility, because in their divisions the other powers find security: but whenever they become

he was directed to do by the Poona Darbar and before the year 1773, Sindia's part was quite of a subordinate nature. Sindia, as the Sardar and General of the Poona Darbar in Hindustan, accomplished great deeds after the year 1773, when his career of conquest and aggrandisement really began. As mentioned above Nana's work lay in devising and that of Sindia in carrying out the plans. All the arduous tasks that Mahadji undertook were, more or less, previously thought of by Nana and his sanction was generally obtained by Sindia. The defeat and destruction of Ghulam Kadir and Ismail Beg, the humbling of the Rohillas, and the utter extirpation of Najeeb Khan's power, the overthrow of the Rajput Confederacy, and finally the re-establishment of the Maratha power in the Imperial City of Delhi: these were the glorious achievements of Sindia, by which the Peshwa's power reached its zenith and the Maratha Empire regained the tone and vigour it had lost owing to the untimely death of the great Madhav Rao Peshwa. The success of Mahadji's arms in Hindustan raised the

united, and make a common cause of the same object, the confederacy must prove of serious import...."

Major W. Thorn's Memoir of the War in India, pages 18 and 19.

".....Thus ably aided, Mahadji Sindia soon acquired such an ascendancy as enabled him not only to regain his former possessions, but to extend his power from the Punjab to the gulf of Cambay....."- Major W. Thorn's Memoir of the War in India, pages 18 and 19.

glory and reputation of the Maratha Empire. But Mahadji's strength was augmented by the powerful aid of Nana's genius,⁽¹⁾ as Nana generally contrived the plans and Mahadji carried them out. The credit, therefore, of re-establishing the Maratha Supremacy at Delhi must be divided between the two, Nana and Mahadji. Both these illustrious patriots performed their part satisfactorily, and many of the mistakes which they are alleged to have committed, are unavoidable or at least condonable, when we take into consideration the surrounding circumstances.⁽²⁾ Nana's

(1) According to Marshman, Nana's genius was extraordinary. Taylor speaks in the highest terms about him; Grant Duff's opinion about Nana is as follows:—"The vigour of his judgment, the fertility of his resources, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments he called into action, surprised all India and from his European contemporaries procured for him the title of the Maratha Machiavelli."

"With Nana Phadnavis departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government."—Colonel Palmer, Resident at Poona.

(2) "Nana Phadnavis had consistently been opposed to the political progress of the English as subversive of the Maratha power, and he objected to the employment of foreign troops under any conditions. But he was faithful to his political engagements, and his devotion to the maintenance of the honour of his own nation is attested by the respect of all his contemporaries. The faithless materials with which he had to deal at the close of his life threw him into intrigues and combinations for his own preservation, which would otherwise have been avoided and left him at liberty to continue the able administration he had conducted for twenty-five years."—Taylor's History, page 546.

want of courage and timidity are the two chief reasons, which go to detract much from his great reputation. In the times in which he flourished, a statesman was often expected to leave his pen for a time and take up the sword. Hari Pant and Mahadji were also statesmen of great importance and their personal courage and bravery made them self-dependent, while Nana always looked upon his supporters for aid in times of emergency. Under these circumstances Nana could not always carry out his object and had occasionally to come to the determination of abandoning the charge of his office to avoid the dangers attending his position of responsibility. However, Nana considerably made up this defect by the power of his head and succeeded in defeating several of his opponents. On the authority of European as well as Indian historians, he has been described as one of the most fore-sighted and sagacious statesmen that India produced in modern times, while Mahadji deserves to be extolled as one of the most successful generals of recent times. Nana's head never wavered and Mahadji's arms scarcely met defeat. In fine, therefore, it may be again repeated that Nana who represented the brain power of the Maratha Empire, acted his part conspicuously well, while Mahadji, the arm power of the same empire, gloriously acquitted himself in the accomplishment of the most important and arduous tasks.⁽¹⁾ Both of them have,

(1) Sir John Malcolm describes Mahadji Sindia as "the nominal slave but the rigid master of Shah Alum, the Emperor

therefore in spite of their inordinate ambition, a strong claim to be remembered by Maharashtra as two of her greatest sons.

(c) Mahadji owed his succession to his family Jagirs to the strong support of Nana Phadnavis and Hari Pant Phadke, both of whom recommended him to the kind notice of Madhav Rao I. But for Nana's support, Mahadji would probably have been neglected and preference would have been given to Kedarji, son of Tukoji Sindia. This great kindness, which Sindia received from Nana, was the chief cause which induced Sindia, to use the weighty words of Grant Duff, "to be ever after inclined to Nana Phadnavis and Hari Pant Phadke, the ostensible Karcoons but the real ministers of the great Madhav Rao." Sindia's future conduct was thoroughly influenced by a grateful regard for Nana and Phadke in spite of the fact that occasionally some grounds of disagreement sprang up between Nana and Mahadji. Mahadji was invariably on the side of that cause, which was espoused by

of Delhi, the pretended friend but the designing rival of the house of Holkar, the oppressor of the Rajput Princes, and the proclaimed soldier but the actual plunderer of the family of the Peshwa." We think that Sir John is not accurate, when he says that Mahadji Sindia was a "plunderer" of the Peshwa or that he encouraged rivalry with Holkar. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to show that Mahadji Sindia never plundered the Peshwa and that he was actually moved to tears when he heard of the battle between the armies of Sindia and Holkar at Lakhari.

Nana⁽¹⁾ and Hari Pant and this circumstance tended greatly to augment Nana's strength, as the genius of the latter shone to greater advantage when he was backed by a strong supporter. Mahadji was, like Nana, inordinately ambitious and consequently there arose between them some points of disagreement whenever their paths crossed. But notwithstanding such temporary differences both Mahadji and Nana invariably kept open the door of reconciliation and never had any recourse to such violence as disturbed the friendly relations between Holkar and Sindia in 1802.⁽²⁾ This is an unerring guide to the belief that

(1) Tukoji Holkar had always been under Nana Phadnavis' influence and the alleged rivalry between Mahadji Sindia and Holkar is not strongly supported by evidence, though it is true that there was much difference of opinion between them with regard to the Rohilla affairs and it was a natural sequence when the "perfidy" of Najeeb Khan Rohilla is taken into consideration. In all other matters Sindia and Holkar generally agreed. Mahadji Sindia had a great regard for Ahilya Bai. When Mahadji Sindia was in "Apojee," Holkar looked, along with some others, on the prominence of his brother's position with some feeling of jealousy, as is alleged by Keene, Marshman, Taylor, and other writers.

On this point, however, more need not be said. We have given the various views of this matter and think that it requires no further discussion in this work. The officers of Sindia and Holkar were solely responsible for this rivalry and jealousy, if at all it arose.

(2) The relations between Mahadji Sindia and the house of Holkar should not be judged by the conduct of their successors, Daulat Rao Sindia and Yeshwant Rao Holkar, both of whom openly appealed to arms and destroyed

both of them were sincerely attached to each other in spite of their political ambition and this belief receives a further corroboration when one carefully reads the important correspondence between them. How the Maratha Empire was benefited by Mahadji's strong attachment—formed at the beginning of his career—to Nana and Hari Pant need not be repeated here.

It will also be very interesting to make an investigation into the causes, which gave rise to a feeling, temporary though it may be, of jealousy between these two eminent personages. In fact the dilution on such a point cannot be foreign to the scope of this work. English writers on Maratha History seem occasionally to give prominence to the fact that they differed in their castes, and hence the cause of jealousy lay in this difference. This view seems to be groundless. It was the love of supreme power that was at the root of the jealousy between them. Difference of caste can certainly be never the cause of the jealousy, for if it at all were, then why should Nana have taken so great an interest in Sindia's cause and recommended Mahadji for being confirmed as a successor to the Jagirs of the Sindia family? Jealousy, arising purely out of race distinction, is somewhat of a later origin. Race-hatred, as such, had no special or systematic form in the days of the Great Shivaji or each other's vitality and strength by furious feuds. Of the miserable spectacle of the battle of Poona in 1802, between Yeshwant Rao Holkar and the united armies of the Peshwa and Daulat Rao Sindia we need not say more in this work.

the Great Bajirao. Shivaji is well-known for his love of and confidence in the Brahmans and equally well-known is Bajirao for his great love of the Marathas.⁽¹⁾ During the victorious career of these two heroes of Maharashtra the Maratha and the Maratha Brahmans worked hand in hand and the favours of these two heroes were freely distributed according to the amount of merit and work. The example set by Shivaji and Bajirao⁽²⁾ continued for a long time

(1) Elsewhere in this work something has been said already on this point. We quote Mr. N. C. Kelkar's words in support of our view. The learned author has devoted several pages to the discussion of the important subject about the causes of the fall of the Maratha Empire, *vide* "Marathas and English," Part II, pages 9-42.

"जातिभेद बुद्धिनिच महाराष्ट्रांत फूट फार झाली आणि कल्याणी लागल्या गेल्या असे ही म्हणण्यांत येते. पण याचा फारसा पुरावा नाही. कारण याच्या उलट मुल्ट गोष्टी अन्वय व्यक्तीकडे विली तरी मिद्ध कवितां येतील. जातिभेद जोरांत असतांही मराठ्या शिवाजीने चंद्रगव मोत्या सारख्या मराठ्या म्हादारास ठार मारिले. अनेक परभू घराण्यांस जेवळ केले. रामभासासारख्या ब्राह्मणांचे पदरांत एकदा पराक्रमाने मिळविलेले राज्य, डाकण्यास तो तयार झाला, ही गोष्ट जातिभेदाच्या दुष्परिणामाची खोतक आहे काय ? शिंदे व होळकर दोघेही ब्राह्मणच; असे असतां त्यांच्यांत तीन पीढ्यांचे वेर कां होतें ? रघुनाथराव, मोगोबा दादा वंगर एका बाजूला, वसावराव, नाना फडणवीस वंगरे दुसऱ्या बाजूला, असे अं पेशवाईत वट पडले ते जातिभेदासुद्धे पडले नाहीत.....तात्पर्य सांगण्याचे किंवा दुहीचे खरे कारण शोधू आतां ते नेमके जातिभेदापर्यंत जातें, पुढे मागे जाऊ शकत नाही, असे मुर्खीचे म्हणतां येत नाही."

(2) I am aware that some short-sighted writers have even gone to the length of attributing the differences between Bajirao I and Shripat Rao Pratinidhi to caste prejudices. I entirely combat that view in my "Marathas and Moghals." Caste difference was certainly not the cause of rivalry between them. It was ambition and love of power. Had they been of the same caste or even the same family, the differences would have been the same.

"... शिवाजीने ज्यावेळीं महाराष्ट्र संडकांत एकी करून मुसलमानांपासून देशाचे संरक्षण करावयाचें याजिले त्यावेळीं त्यानें जातिभेदाविरुद्ध व्याख्यानें दिल्लीं आढळत नाहीत !

to influence the succeeding rulers of Maharashtra. Madhav Rao the Great, for example, is widely known for his equal-handed justice to all; and Nana and Mahadji, both of whom received their political training under the Great Peshwa Madhav Rao, were certainly influenced by this healthy spirit and noble determination to maintain an undisturbed union between the Maratha Brahmans and the Marathas. Moreover we have already seen what broad and patriotic views Nana and Mahadji entertained throughout their career. To say then that Nana and Mahadji harboured feelings of jealousy towards each other owing to the difference in their caste is to display an ignorance of their illustrious careers and of their grand views regarding union among all the races, composing the Maratha nation. Nana and Mahadji were, in fact, the makers of a united Maharashtra—though the union may have lasted for sometime only—or at least their efforts

व्याप्त आपल्या राज्यांत केवळ गुणाकडे पाहून कसे पुरव करून देऊन सैन्य पेशव्यांच्याही कडी सत्तापस जाविनाद मान्य होणा, म्हणून कांहीं प्रबुद्ध राजागणांत जाणीविए आवष्ट निवड दानविहीरी सैदी साद्री.....बाबती निजसोय पेशवा आपल्या नेतर जीं धराणीं उदयाम आलीं त्यांनींय शेकड्या पाहण्यानें धराणीं तनीं बाबतीनें होनीं. पेशव्यांनीं कोकणस्थ ब्राह्मणांचे कल्याण केले असं अनेक निराधार आहे.”

“Sakharam Bapu, who was at one time a pillar of the State, was imprisoned in the Forts for the part he took in siding with Raghoba Dada, and the same fate overtook Raghoba's other friends—chiefly Parbhus, Raghunath Hari, Baburao Hari and others. The strife of the parties seems to have been much more bitter in those days than was the case under the first three Peshwas.” Page 21, Ranade's Introduction.

were undoubtedly directed towards the realisation of this grand achievement, in which they partially had succeeded. It is, therefore, certainly puerile to say in the face of the evidence now before the people of Maharashtra that the feelings of jealousy between Nana and Mahadji had their origin in the difference in their castes.⁽¹⁾

It was then love of power which gave rise to the jealousy. Power is so sweet and tempting that sometimes it even brings about feuds between father and son, who, forgetting their natural affection are bent on cutting each other's throats. It was love of power which drove Aurangzeb to perpetrate the heinous acts of imprisoning Shahjehan and killing Dara and Suja. It was love of power which made the gallant Raghubar listen to the evil advice of his wicked wife regarding the cruel murder of the promising young Peshwa Narayan Rao. It was certainly this love of power which gave rise to the jealousy.⁽²⁾ In a man of ordinary ambition this love

(1) *Vide* "the Marathas and the English" by Mr. Narshing Chintaman Kelkar, who has dealt with the question of caste in regard to the fall of the Maratha Power. I have already said something on this point in my previous works. *Vide* the "Marathas and the Meghals" and "Ranojirao Sindhia." Though foreign writers have often tried to make much capital out of the caste differences, I believe that they did not play such a powerful part in the minds of the Maratha heroes, nor led to the fall of the Maratha Empire.

(2) For the reasons briefly given in the preceding pages I think that Professor Forrest is not accurate when he

is weak. The greater the ambition, the stronger is the love of power and authority. Nana and Mahadji were inordinately ambitious and consequently whenever their paths crossed, a feeling of estrangement was the natural consequence, though the foresight of General Hari Pant Phadke always checked it.

Some remarks must be made as to why Mahadji desired to become the Peshwa's Prime Minister. Mahadji had extensive dominions and inexhaustible wealth. His power in Northern India was irresistible.⁽¹⁾ Why then should Sindia hanker after displacing Nana? One of the reasons for such a course followed by Sindia, was that by occupying Nana's office, Sindia aspired to exercise his influence to a greater extent as well as to increase his power at the Peshwa's Court. Mahadji knew very well that in Maharashtra he was not very popular and that the Peshwa's other Sardars—Holkar, Ali Bahadur, and

makes the following remarks:—"Caste jealousies had now begun to sap the foundation of the Maratha Empire. The early Peshwas, who were called Pant Pradhans when the office was first instituted by Shivaji, belonged to a Brahmanical caste called Deshasthas, but Balaji Vishvanath was of an inferior caste of Brahmans called "Chitpawans."

(1) "The greatest Maratha chieftain in personal ability and in extent of his dominions, was Mahadji Sindia, who since 1781 controlled Hindustan from the Satlaj to Agra, held valuable territories in Malwa and the Deccan, and possessed a fine army disciplined and recruited by De Boigne, a brilliant Savoyard soldier of fortune. The old Emperor Shah Alum had been forced to put himself under Sindia's protection." - Roberts, page 239.

Vinchurkar—were frequently given to ignore Mahadji's power and call in question Sindia's allegiance to his master. Several of the Peshwa's Sardars also denounced Mahadji for his intention of founding an independent dominion in the heart of Hindustan and of trying to sever all connection with his mother country. Sindia's long residence in Hindustan had given rise to many a rumour in Maharashtra regarding his apparent views of independence and aggrandisement. Vigilant and far-sighted as he was, Sindia had kept himself informed of all these transactions in Maharashtra, and was able to gauge the feelings of his countrymen towards himself. Finding that his work in Hindustan was more or less completed, Sindia turned to the grand work of gaining the full confidence of his master, of conciliating his countrymen and of realizing other ambitious views. Sindia's stay, therefore, in the Peshwa's capital was expected to be for the realization of these objects.

As Prime Minister of the Peshwa, Sindia⁽¹⁾ would have been enabled to have his orders obeyed by Holkar, Gaikwar, Bhosle and other powerful Sardars. A Prime Minister of a State is practically a more

(1) "So by an extraordinary series of political fictions and a curious turn of the political wheel, the Moghal Emperor had now passed under the control of a General of the Hindu Confederacy, which was swayed by the Minister of the Peshwa—himself the Mayor of the palace of the Raja of Satara, whose claims were historically upon a rebellion against Moghal Sovereignty"—Roberts.

important personage and has greater chances of exercising his power than even the sovereign of the State. Nana, the Premier of the Maratha Empire, enjoyed all these advantages. Mahadji, whose ambition was as uncontrollable as that of Nana, began naturally to aspire after such an exalted position, by attaining to which he could accomplish the objects set forth in the preceding paragraph as well as gain an ascendancy, which even the great Moghal might never have dreamt of in his palmiest days.⁽¹⁾

Some writers of Maratha History have made a great fuss of Mahadji's frequent show of subordination and his "servile" behaviour in the presence of his master, Sawai Madhav Rao. They see in his "show of subordination" and the "servile behaviour" nothing else but cunningness and an attempt at fraud. We beg to differ from this opinion, which, we believe, to be groundless. A thorough acquaintance with the ways and the demeanour of the Marathas of higher level in the eighteenth century would give a direct lie to this prevailing opinion among writers of the type of Mr. Keene and Beveridge. They forget that a Maratha of the eighteenth century was far more pious

(1) "Had Sindia become the Peshwa's Prime Minister, he would have got in his hands the reins of the Maratha Empire as well as of the Moghal and his position would have become undoubtedly the most prominent in the India of his time." पेशवाईची दिवाणगिरी करण्याविषयी त्यांची अव्यंत खटपट असून ती मात्र साधली नाही. हा योग जर जमला असता तर, मोगलाई व मराठेशाई ही दोन्ही ताब्यांत येऊन पाटीलबाबा एकाच वेळी शिवाजी व औरंगजेब यांचे वैभवस पोंचले असते—Natu, page, 272.

and far more influenced by the maxim so common among all the Hindus even of our own day—"Part with your life for him whose salt you eat."⁽¹⁾ How the Marathas as well as the Maratha Brahmans looked up with almost religious veneration to their masters may be ascertained from several authentic anecdotes still extant in Maharashtra. Ranojirao Sindia worshipped Bajirao's slippers and Balaji Baji Rao Peshwa carried Shahoo's shoes, forgetting that he was a Brahman and the master a Kshatriya. Was not Balaji Bajirao the most powerful man in India? But his political significance was subordinated to the spontaneous outflow of loyal feelings towards him whose salt the Peshwa ate and so the master of a mighty host and the conqueror of all Hindustan felt no scruples in carrying his sovereign the Shahoo's shoes.⁽²⁾ If Nana Sahib and Ranojirao are not charged with cunningness, when they paid "servile"

(1) The following verse best expresses the sentiments of pious Hindus of the old school:—

अन्नदाता नयनदाता, कन्यादाता नयनच ॥

जनिता चोपनेताच, पंचैते पितरस्मृताः ॥ १ ॥

"The giver of food (master), the deliverer from a calamity, the father-in-law, the real father, and the preceptor these five are called fathers." It is somewhat difficult for young India, tinged with a sceptic tendency due to the Western and materialistic education, to appreciate the Hindus of the old type.

(2) See "Life of Shahoo" by Mr. Gokte. The Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, commonly known as Nana Sahib, stood very high in the estimation of Shahoo. Nana Sahib's

attention to Shahoo and Bajirao respectively, we cannot understand why Mahadji should be set down as a cunning dissembler, when, in the presence of the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao, he unfolded a pair of old slippers and humbly said: "My duty is to carry these slippers of my master. My ancestors have done the same. I desire no honour save that of being allowed to serve the feet of my master." Once more we boldly venture to say that to attribute such

ability was of so high an order that Shahoo Chhatrapati signed away willingly his regal authority to this Peshwa actually by a Sanad, stipulating only that the dignity of the house of Satara may be formally maintained and that Baiaji Baji Rao should preside over the whole of the Maratha Empire in full power. The following extracts from the Captain Gordon's account of the English embassy to the Chhatrapati Shahoo would be highly interesting to our readers: "On the 26th June, I visited the several great men, including Bajirao's son, who treated me with much civility...On the 27th the Raja sent for the man, who attended me up, inquiring if I had any more to offer, and observed by saying we were a good and peaceable people, desirous of commerce.....and that preserving our friendship would highly contribute to the prosperity of their late conquests. But, said the Raja, that would be of small utility to me, as I have assigned the whole to Bajirao....." This letter from Captain Gordon is dated the 21st July 1739. The Bhosle Raja of Nagpur had to quietly acquiesce in the said assignment."

English Historians suppose that the Peshwa 'usurped' the regal power from the Chhatrapati. But this view is far from correct. The Chhatrapati, taking the *pros* and the *cons* of the situation into consideration, invested Baji Rao I with regal authority and later on conferred full power of sovereignty on Balaji Baji Rao.

involuntary outbursts of the sentiments of loyalty to sinister motives, ⁽¹⁾ is to display a want of even a partial acquaintance with those feelings by which a Maratha Sardar of the old school was animated. Maratha saints like Tukaram and also Sanskrit writers on ethics have strictly enjoined the duty of looking upon a person, whose salt one eats, with that veneration which is due to one's father, and in no community these noble injunctions were put into action with greater zeal than among the pious Marathas of the old school. Under these circumstances we think Mahadji Sindia does not deserve to be called a cunning dissembler for his frequent show of subordination, which originated in his sincere loyalty, piety and attachment to the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao, upon whom Mahadji looked as an Awtari ⁽²⁾ person (incarnation) and to whom he offered prayers when in times of difficulty and danger. For foreign historians,

(1) It must be difficult to gauge Mahadji Sindia's feelings, superstitious though they may be, by persons whose notions are influenced by the sceptic tendency due to the materialistic education that has caused a wide gulf between the old ideas of the Marathas of the 18th century and the new culture of those of the twentieth century.

(2) *Vide* Nahu's "Mahadji Sindia," page 243, where the learned author refers to the wild rumours that arose through jealousy and similar motives regarding Mahadji Sindia's actions.

“ त्यावेर्ली पाटीलवावांच्या बदल ज्या वेळ्या लोकांनी पिकविल्या होत्या त्या कांहीं
अशा त्यांच्या श्रेयविषयी मत्सरबुद्धीने व त्यांच्या प्रचंड शक्तीच्या भयाने उत्पन्न
झाल्या होत्या.”

it is difficult to realise how strong was the sense of gratitude of the old Marathas and what feelings influenced their conduct towards their master, whose salt they ate. Much more can be said on this point but in a work of this nature a more detailed discussion is out of place and consequently we conclude by saying that Mahadji is by no means open to the charge of being a crafty dissembler. His behaviour, servile though it may appear to the foreign writers, was as faultless as that of the Peshwa Nana Sahib and Ranoji Rao Sindia.

It has already been related that Mahadji and Nana were reconciled to each other by the endeavours of Hari Pant Tatya and that Sindia had finally given up the attempt to displace Nana. Henceforth Mahadji's life was spent in a continual round of gaiety. The Peshwa frequently held State receptions which Sindia invariably attended. He spent large sums of money in preparing fireworks for the amusement of the Peshwa.¹¹ The greater part of his life had been

(1) "...From June 1793 to February 1794, Mahadji remained at Poona, endeavouring to gain over the young Peshwa and circumvent the crafty machinations of his old enemies at Court. The signal defeat of Holkar at Lakheri made the task ever more difficult than before, for the universal jealousy it aroused increased Sindia's unpopularity in the Deccan Capital, whilst his schemes were too ambitious to find immediate adherents.....The young Peshwa, chafing under the austere direction of Nana Phadnavis, evinced a decided inclination to throw off the yoke and submit himself to the more attractive guidance of his great vassal....."

—Compton, page 78.

spent in Hindustan and he was, so to say, cut off from the Maratha nation for a long time. It was, therefore, Mahadji's ardent desire to conciliate all and spend his old age in the vicinity of his master and among his own countrymen. He had obtained so much wealth and greatness as to be in a state of over-satiation. What he wanted to gain now was popularity which is, like fame, the last infirmity of noble minds. The whole of his life up to this time had been spent in camp, and now it was quite natural for him to desire for some repose which fortunately he was allowed to enjoy owing to the prevalence of as much of peace and order in his dominions as was possible in those days of chaos and under the circumstances. Sindia daily amused the young Peshwa with excellent stories, for it is said Mahadji was a great story-teller. The Peshwa always paid great attention to Sindia and entertained an exceedingly affectionate regard for Mahadji. But these pleasant times were not allowed to continue for a long time. Mahadji was attacked by "Nawa Jwar," violent fever which several sovereign medicines could not cure.⁽¹⁾ The Great Mahadji died peacefully at Wanawdi on the 12th of February 1794, full of

(1) Compton does not attach any weight to the wild rumour to which the *Tarikha-i-Muzaffari* gives currency. *Vide* page 78, "Compton's Military Adventurers of Hindustan" where he says..."The old Patil was seized with a violent fever. In the sixty-fourth year of his age, Mahadji Sindia, the greatest prince with the exception of Shivaji that the Maratha nation ever produced, breathed his last..."

honour and greatness.⁽¹⁾ His age at the time of his death was, according to Raoji Pendse, a respectable gentleman fully acquainted with the particulars of the Maratha History, about sixty-four. So Mahadji may be said to have been born about the year 1730. Comparing his age with the ages of other members of the Sindia Family, Mahadji may be said to have lived a longer, though at the same time a more successful, life than many of them. The great Mahadji, Nana and Hari Pant were the three mighty pillars on which the Maratha Empire rested at this time. The loss caused by the death of Mahadji was irreparable.⁽²⁾ It was immediately followed by the death of Hari Pant. Nana alone remained to suffer insults and strokes of misfortune, though to the last moment of his life he devoted his whole attention, with a patriot's care, to the welfare of the Maratha Empire. After the death of these three men, the Maratha Empire was easily brought to the ground in no time.

During the latter part of Mahadji Sindia's career the Maratha Supremacy in India was quite complete.

(1) The Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao paid a visit of condolence to the members of the Sindia Family and expressed his sincerest feelings of sorrow for the death of Mahadji Sindia. The Peshwa was accompanied by Nana Phadnavis and other Sardars and Ministers.

(2) An important letter has been published from the "Menwali Daftar" showing the cordiality of relations between Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindia in spite of occasional disagreements. We give the entire letter in the Appendix, as published in the "Itihas Sangraha." *Vide* Vol. II, June Number of "Itihas Sangraha," pages 85-89 (1910).

The Moghal Emperor was a pensioner, if not a royal prisoner, in their hands. Tipu Sultan was the tributary of the Poona Darbar and the Nizam was an humble protege of the Peshwa.⁽¹⁾ From Cape Comorin up to the Sikh Boundaries of the Punjab, the Maratha sway was completely established. The great Rajput Princes had their pride quieted by the famous battle of Patan, Ameer, and Mairat. The English were defeated and repulsed in 1779 at Talegaon and in the Bore Ghat.

Many of these most glorious achievements, though partly the result of co-operation and occasionally the active support of the Peshwa's Government, were directly the outcome of the brilliant exertions of that most successful Maratha General of modern times, the great Mahadji Sindia. "The English had become

(1) *Vide* "the Selections from the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries," by R. B. Wad, "Sawai Madhav Rao Peshwa," Vol. I. on page 333 the following amount is mentioned as tribute received from Tipu Sultan: "Twelve Lakhs were received from Tipu Sultan on account of tribute for the year 1786-87 A. D. " "नयाव हस्त लिखित बहादुर बाबे नवे पत्र की, मुद्रांकित संवत् १८०३ मध्ये १८,०३,००० रु०" page 323.

(2) The period in which the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan flourished began in 1784, during the Government of Warren Hastings and ended in 1803 during that of the Marquis Wellesley... To De Boigne belongs the honour of having initiated the wonderful system that took root and grew with the fatal rapidity of an exotic. He created for Mahadji Sindia "a Ruler of India"—the first complete army of regular troops employed by the Native Princes of the country. The example was soon followed by

very jealous of the rising power and the formidable influence of the Marathas, but so long as Mahadji and Nana were alive, the English were able to do nothing more than to try to foment internal dissensions and attempt to dismember the gigantic Maratha Confederacy of which the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao was the head. These endeavours, however, of the English were frustrated by the timely precautions of Nana and Mahadji. The Marathas were, truly speaking, in possession of a far more extensive empire in 1790 than in 1760 and their political significance was far more established during the rule of Sawai Madhav Rao than in that of any former Peshwa.⁽¹⁾ We are told that the magnificence, the pomp and splendour of the Maratha court of Poona was such in 1790 as to beggar all description. Much of the credit of such a stage of prosperity, though part of it could rightly be claimed by Nana

the Nizam of Hyderabad and in different degree by the Tipu Sultan.”—Compton, Introduction, page 8

(1) Sindia could muster 40,000 disciplined infantry with 380 guns the whole commanded by Perron who was assisted by an efficient staff of 300 Europeans. Sindia's Brigades were one factor and, as events proved, the most formidable factor in that possible combination which a hundred years ago threatened the existence of the English power in India. The story of these Brigades is the story of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan. De Bogue's army was the first of these three organizations (the Marathas, the Nizam and Tipu Sultan) to be called into existence and the last of them to be broken up.”—Compton, Introduction, page 9.

Phadnavis, is due to Mahadji Sindia, whose success in Hindustan has been equalled by the achievements of no other conqueror except Shivaji and Bajirao I. With all the might of the British nation crouching behind them, the Company's Governors in India had to quietly suffer the Marathas to have their own way. During Mahadji Sindia's regime, backed as it was by the might of the Poona Darbar, the dream of the great Madhav Rao Ballal Peshwa—the very Peshwa from whom Nana and Mahadji learnt their first lessons in statesmanship and diplomacy ⁽¹⁾—had been fully realized and the Moghal power had completely given way before the tremendous scale of the Maratha wave of invasion. The Maratha success was not without a passive opposition from the side of the Company, but in 1790 as well as in the Twelve coming years—years which witnessed the death of Nana, Mahadji and Hari Pant and the rise of short-sighted chiefs like Bajirao II and Daulat Rao Sindia—they were able to do no active harm to the power and the influence of the Peshwa's Government. We would illustrate our remarks by an extract from the then official organ, "the Calcutta Gazette." That official organ contains the following noteworthy paragraph, which is worthy of a serious study : " Many have

(1) Grant Duff and Maratha writers duly acknowledge the fact that Nana and Mahadji owed their spirit of patriotism and love for the solidarity of the Maratha Empire to the Peshwa Madhav Rao I. *Vide* Letters, Memoranda, etc." by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane.

urged the necessity of upholding the Moghal influence to counterbalance the power of the Hindus; but this should seem bad policy, as we should causelessly become obnoxious and involve ourselves in the interest of a declining state." 'Divide and Rule' is considered, as Sir W. Hunter says, a master-piece of policy from very remote times.⁽¹⁾ That policy was many times vigorously pursued by the East India Company, but during the days of Nana and Mahadji, the evil workings of this policy were counteracted with great ease and almost without delay. Excepting the East India Company, the Marathas had, at that time, no foe worthy of consideration. So long as able and shrewd men like Mahadji and Nana lived, the Maratha Empire thrived in spite of all odds. After their death, it fell an easy victim to nets spread for the ruin of the Maratha power—the only power which firmly had checked the progress of the East India Company.⁽²⁾

(1) The reader would be interested to see what Colonel Tod has to say on this point: 'Enjoying the most distinguished post among the foreign chieftains of Holkar's State he [Ameer Khan] added the epithet of traitor to his other titles, when the British Government, adopting the leading maxim of Asiatic policy, 'Divide et impera' guaranteed to him the sovereignty of the districts on his abandoning the Marathas." Vol. 1, page 468.

(2) See Mr. H. A. Ackworth's "Ballads of the Marathas" and "The Rise of the Maratha Power" by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mahadeo Govind Ranade. *Vide* also "The Marathas and the Moghals" by the present writer in this connection.

Here ends the account of the career of a truly great man—a man who never knew failure in most of his undertakings. From the time of Mahadji's death, failure was the rule and success the exception. The mighty dominions of Sindia in the different parts of the country were gradually weakened by the short-sighted and impolitic conduct of Daulat Rao, whose imprudent behaviour gave rise to innumerable feuds in Sindia's family especially and in the whole of Maharashtra generally.⁽¹⁾ Mahadji had raised the glory and greatness of the Maratha Empire as well as extended the power and influence of the Sindia Family. Daulat Rao conducted himself in such a way as to weaken the Peshwa's strength as well as his own. During these times Nana and Mahadji were the only persons, who appreciated the value of the proverb "Union is Strength." After the death of these two men, the

(1) The death of Mahadji Sindia, and the accession of his nephew Daulat Rao, his murder of the Sainowee Brahmans, and his quarrels with the Bais (wives of the deceased Sindia), all occurred at this time, and materially influenced the events in Mewar. The power of Ambaji as Subhedar of Hindustan was strengthened by the minority of Sindia, although contested by Luckba Dada and the Bais, supported by the Khreechi Prince Durjan Sal, and the Duttea Raja, who fought and died for the princesses. Luckba Dada wrote to the Rana of Oodepore to throw off Ambaji's yoke and expel his lieutenant; while Ambaji commanded his deputy to eject the Sainowee Brahmans, supporters of Luckba, from all the lands in Mewar--Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, page 451.

history of Gwalior and also of the whole Maratha Empire, presents a scene of frequent dissensions, treachery, disunion, anarchy, and assassination. Bad ways have invariably bad ends and in accordance with this law, the Maratha Empire fell to the ground and Sindia lost more than two-thirds of his territories. The hopes of Maharashtra were thus blasted for ever.

The cause of Mahadji Sindia's death was, according to the unimpeachable authority of Capt. Grant Duff and several other writers of Maharashtra "a violent fever." These weighty words of the Historian of the Marathas are corroborated by the undoubted testimony of the Maratha Bakhars, which unanimously declare that Sindia died of "Nawa-Jwar." Mr. Keene, author of "Madhav Rao Sindia," however, gives credit to an obviously false and strange account, never heard of and credited before, regarding Sindia's death. Mr. Keene's authority is a Mohammedan Historian, an inhabitant of Behar, who says that Mahadji was waylaid and attacked by a party of soldiers at the instance of Nana Phadnavis, and Sindia, while defending himself against his enemies, received mortal wounds of which he died at Wanawdi.¹

(1) The famous scholar of Maharashtra, Professor Chintaman Gangadhar Bhanu, attaches not the least importance to this account. He considers the story to be entirely false.

महाराष्ट्रचा नावांनीं मावळी घाबळे अर्दी फेवर सांडांनीं कटागी आहे, पण निळा कोणत्याही प्रामाणिक आधारांचा पुरावा नाही - B. L. S. M., page 96.

Vide "Fall of the Moghal Empire" by Mr. H. G. Keene, M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E., page 230.

Now the first witness whom I call to testify to the falsehood of this charge against Nana Phadnavis is Mr. Keene himself. In his "Fall of the Moghal Empire," Mr. Keene does not attach any importance to the obviously untrue account in the "Tawarikha-i-Muzaffari." He makes the following observations regarding its worth: "From the situation of the writer (of Tawarikha-i-Muzaffari), who appears to have lived in Behar and Hindustan, as well as from the vagueness with which he tells his story, it is evidently a mere rumour" These are plain words and no efforts are required to explain them still more. If there were at all any need to prove the total falsehood of this cruel and groundless charge against Nana, Mr. Keene's words themselves are sufficient for the purpose.⁽¹⁾

It is however a pity that without bringing forward any stronger authority than "Tawarikha-i-Muzaffari," which Mr. Keene himself tells us to be of no value in proving the charge alluded to above, the author of "Madhav Rao Sindia" should have made room for

(1) The Persian author (of Tawarikha-i-Muzaffari) briefly states that the Peshwa, whose mind was certainly at this time much embittered against Mahadji Sindia, sent assassins to way-lay him at a little distance from the City." —Keene. This statement is entirely false. The Peshwa's mind was never embittered against Sindia. Mr. Keene is obviously wrong. The Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan was always pleased with Sindia.

an obviously erroneous statement in his subsequent work.⁽¹⁾

We dilate on this point as a little more discussion would be greatly interesting.

2. It ought to be borne in mind that Captain Grant Duff does not, even distantly, suggest the possibility of any such foul deed on the part of Nana. The worthy historian of the Marathas, who has narrated even the most commonplace events, would certainly have said something about such an important event, if it were supported by any reliable evidence or even rumour in Maharashtra.⁽²⁾

(1) Mr. Keene admits that there is no better authority than Grant Duff and yet he feels inclined to attach some weight at least to what the doubtful Tarikha-i-Muzaffari says on this point ! *Vide* Keene's *Sindia*, page 203.

(2) Grant Duff has never hesitated to expose the shortcomings of the Maratha Brahmans and there is no reason to think that he would have ignored such an important occurrence, if it had any basis. That Nana and Mahadji had been fully reconciled would be corroborated by the following letter from Nana to Daulat Rao Sindia :—

“सन्तुष्टिनिवाजी अनामिक आजीवाड विजय अगि वैशील कुशल मानव समीप
विहीन माने, विजय. कैलासवासी साहाद नि दिंडे पायलक्या बांणी अगदी पनांत
अपय लेवून नि की की, सगदारी साहो व फटगीती आपली, ते पुन्यादनाचे परमर्षे चालवांचे
ते पत्र आडे कळीं आपणाशीं करार की, सगदारी आमची व फटगीती आपली ते लक्ष्य
आमचे ते आपले असांचे व आमचे लक्ष्याधियाय चाहेल्ये, यांत कोणी कुसळी अंतर
पडावयाप सांगितव्याय त्याचे ऐकणार साहो, यांत अंतर कसे तर ते विषयी बल मंतर
दिला आहे. श्रीमंतांचे दोळीस वाडेट करील त्याचे पापव्याय आपण आपले विचार
अनुकूल असांचे.” *Vide* Nana's *Sindia*, page 300.

3. Sir John Malcolm, the renowned author of the "Memoirs of Central India," who had special opportunities of acquiring information on important events about the Maratha States, does not at all implicate Nana in the atrocious deed, which Mr. Keene ascribes to him. Sir John has estimated the approximate number of the Maratha Brahman families living in Central India. Could then such an indefatigable writer have omitted to allude to such an important event ? ⁽¹⁾

4. Up to this stage the testimony of the European authors regarding the foul charge against Nana is taken into consideration. Now let us see what the Maratha Bakhars have to say regarding this point. Two different Bakhars unequivocally assert that Mahadji and Nana were perfectly reconciled to each other through the laudable endeavours of Hari Pant Tatya Phadke.

5. Both Mahadji and Nana bound themselves by oath not to entertain any suspicion about each other. This oath was further confirmed by the exchange of "Bel Bhandar," the strongest form of oath among the Hindus. The letters written by them

(1) Colonel Meadows Taylor, in his "History of India," says: "Madhav Rao Peshwa, a high spirited and generous youth, was delighted with Mahadji Sindia whom he found to be a frank free soldier, and the intercourse with him was far more agreeable than that with his guardian and minister, Nana Phadnavis." Taylor's History of India, page 529-30.

have seen the light of day by their publication some time ago in the valuable *Life of Nana* by Mr. Waman Shastri Khare of Miraj State.

6. Nana was an exceedingly pious and kind-hearted man and to lay such a dirty charge at his door is to betray a gross ignorance of the life and career of the illustrious Minister. Both Mahadji and Nana did try to control each other's influence in such a manner as not to allow it to grow to a dangerous extent. They were, however, so far-sighted⁽¹⁾ as not to permit their ambition to be so powerful as to endanger the Maratha Empire. Moreover it may be mentioned that Nana had a very great regard for Mahadji, as will be seen from a perusal of the several Maratha works, Nana's letters, etc., recently presented to the public through the exertions of Rao Sahib Modak, B.A., and Rao Bahadur Sane, B.A., the authors of "*Kawyetihās Sangraha*."

(1) Mr. Keene quotes the authority of Sir Dinkar Rao in respect of Mahadji Sindia's character as follows: "My valued friend Sir Dinkar Rao informs that, among other traditions of high Maratha society, he has been told by aged men that the Maharaja was never known to evince serious displeasure save with cowards and men who fled in battle. To all others his favour was equal, and solely proportioned to merit, no matter what might be their creed, caste, or colour." If Mr. Keene would have condescended to ask Sir Dinkar Rao about this event surely he would have told the truth. I have heard several anecdotes from very old and highly respectable Maratha persons regarding important events and men in Maratha History. None, in fact, has ever known about the atrocious rumour referred to by *Tarikha-i*

7. The Company's officers at Bombay, the partisans of Raghubar, were ever ready to discredit the Poona Darbar and to give currency to several evil reports regarding the Peshwa's Government.⁽¹⁾ They took every opportunity to spread the foulest rumours regarding Nana personally, and also about his party, to which Sindia had strongly adhered up to the last breath of his life. Even these officers have said nothing about this cruel deed imputed by Mr. Keene to the pious and God-fearing Nana.

8. Besides, what earthly blessing was to be obtained by Nana by stooping to perpetrate such an atrocious deed, which was against his very nature and which would have brought about that very calamity which Nana ever tried to avert.⁽²⁾ Mahadji was not in a position to take the office by force from Nana,

Muzaffari and believed by Mr. Keene in his *Life of Mahadji Sindia*. *Vide* Keene's 'Moghal Empire,' page 230.

(1) In 1794 Sindia stood very high in the estimation and affection of the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan and this is evident from the evidence of Maratha writers as well as the testimony of Colonel Meadows Taylor, whose words are quoted in this connection. It would thus be clear that the author of *Tarikha-i-Muzaffari* is certainly wrong in saying that the Peshwa's mind was embittered against Sindia.

(2) Nana always desired to control Sindia and not to kill him. Nana knew well that the disappearance of a patriotic person like Sindia from Maharashtra at that period was the surest sign of weakening the party to which Nana clung.

in whose interests Holkar, Bhosle, Phadke, Patwardhan and several other Maratha Sardars were ever ready to act. It was then only by persuading the Peshwa that Mahadji would have gained his object.⁽¹⁾ But the appropriate reply given by the Peshwa at Loghar had gone a great way to dissuade Mahadji from the pursuit of an object, the attainment of which was beset with no pleasant issues. Further it must be remarked that both Nana and Mahadji were aware of the fact that the fall of any one of them was, at that critical time, ruinous to the Maratha Empire (see the correspondence between them). A perusal of Nana's letters to Mahadji⁽²⁾ completely convinces us that no man at that time had a greater knowledge of Mahadji's ability and his useful services to the Maratha Empire than Nana. Could then a "patriot," a "pious" man of Nana's type have stooped to commit such a heinous act as that imputed

(1) In his work "महाराष्ट्रसिंधी या इतिहास" Mr. Bhagwat makes an astounding assertion to the effect that Mahadji desired to suppress the Brahman influence and to renovate the power of the Raja of Satara. Mr. Nahu has refuted this point in his 'Life of Mahadji Sindia,' page 274. The cult of Brahman-hatred had not come into vogue in Mahadji Sindia's time. It appeared after the year 1818 and its causes need not be discussed here in detail. Brahman-hatred is a product of much later origin.

(2) *Vide* "Life of Nana Phadnavis" by Pandit Wasudeo Shastri Khare, pages 97 and 205, in connection with the reconciliation of Nana and Mahadji. Nana Phadnavis' letter to Daulatrao Sindia published in Nahu's "Mahadji Sindia," is very important. *Vide* Appendix.

to him by Mr. Keene? A more painful account than what has been given in Mr. Keene's work on the worthless authority of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, without trying to ascertain about its truth, we have never had the misfortune to read.

9. In conclusion it should be mentioned that if a Mohammedan historian, living in Behar, is to be believed in proving the truth or falsehood of an event in Maharashtra, surely the Maratha Bakhars, which according to Captain Duff and other European authors are of greater historical worth than the grand eloquent and somewhat exaggerated accounts of the Mohammedan writers, have decidedly a much more claim to be believed also. Under these circumstances, it may be said without any hesitation that Mr. Keene's charge against Nana utterly falls to the ground. It is a pity that Mr. Keene should allow a room in his work to such a dirty imputation against Nana's character without making any enquiry whether the imputation has any corroboration from the Maratha works relating to History. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The following extract from Compton's De Boigne would show that European writers have not really appreciated Mahadji Sindia's character when they allege that Sindia's humility was artificial:—"With a sycophantic assumption of humility which he always carried to excess throughout his life, Mahadji declined all honours for himself. But for his Suzerain the Peshwa, he requested the dignity of Vakil-i-Mutalique, or supreme deputy of the Emperor, a post which carried with it paramount authority. This was accorded by Shah Alum, who thus signed away

10. The author of "Madhav Rao Sindia" ought to have consulted some of the Marathi works before he based his charge against Nana on the authority of a Behar Historian. He ought to have, however, convinced himself about the respective worth of the Maratha and Mohammedan Historians. While the former write in plain, simple, and unadorned style without trying to misrepresent facts, the latter frequently indulge in "thirteen gun tall talk" (1) and disgusting exaggerations. But our judgment in this case would probably be considered as prejudiced or preconceived. We, therefore, give a long extract from the work of an able and well-informed and disinterested writer, Mr. Scott Waring, in corroboration of our views. There is not the least doubt that what Mr. Scott Waring observes, is truth and nothing but the bare truth. The able historian lived in times when it had not quite become a fashion to twist true facts for gaining a political end and when a systematic disregard of Maharashtra had not come

his regal power. As a natural consequence Mahadji "the Peshwa's local representative, assumed the office, and with it the control of the imperial army, the sole machine of Government in oriental politics." Elsewhere we have mentioned in this work that simplicity, piety, and humility were the leading traits in his character.

(1) See "Twenty-one Days in India" by George Aberigh Mackay, the talented Principal of the Daly College at Indore.

into vogue. In the preface to his history, Mr. Scott Waring makes the following remarks :--

"However much I may regret the scantiness of my materials and the paucity of striking events, I must still congratulate myself that my enquiries have not often led me to consult Persian authorities. None, so far I can judge, can be more fallacious or can less require the diligence of patient investigation. Ferista, who composed a general history of India as well as a particular history of the Deccan, is almost the only historian who merits the praise of impartiality and accuracy. He died before the era of the Maratha independence and his mantle has not fallen on any of his brethren. The Moslems, of course, view with animosity and anguish the progress the Marathas have made in the conquest of their fairest provinces and which of late years must have been aggravated by the bondage of their king, the unfortunate representative of the house

It is especially worthy of notice that Professor G. W. Forrest has found no authority or correspondence in the Bombay State Papers to support the view of Mr. Keene. On page 537 of the said State Papers Mr. Malet mentions the death of Mahadji Sindia, on 12th February, 1794, at 8 P. M. The Bombay authorities, partizans of Raghoba as they were, would certainly have mentioned details in this respect and would undoubtedly have never forgiven the Poona Minister if any foul act was suspected in the death of Mahadji Sindia, an event which in itself was very important. The Bombay State Papers, however, have mentioned the significant fact that Sindia had won the full favour of the Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao.

(1) Mr. Scott Waring was in the Bombay Secretariat in the early part of the 19th Century. *Vide* Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, Vol. I, Pages 590-592.

of Timur. From such persons little that was favourable to the Maratha character could be expected. The facts they give, are garbled and perverted, while the slightest circumstance against them is seized upon and extended to an immeasurable length. Their forced and unnatural images, their swelling cadences and modulated phraseology are as disgusting to a discriminating taste as they must be inimical to historical truth. Although the Persian histories be not written in verse, yet they partake of all its faults. They abound in quaint similes and forced antithesis, while the redundancy of their epithets distracts and bewilders attention. If this judgment to the Persian scholar seems harsh, I refer him to the History of the Late Nizam of the Deccan or if he objects to the undisputed master of this prurient style, the celebrated Abul Fazal."

"Not so the Maratha Histories. Their Historians write in a plain, simple and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms, without seeking turgid, imagery or inflated phraseology. No attempt is made to make the worse appear the better. Victory and defeat are briefly related and if they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgment but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and historical reflections."

In connection with what has been said above, the observations of a great and good writer, Sir John

Kaye, the celebrated historian of the Indian Rebellion, are worth noticing. They ought to be remembered by all writers, especially the writers of Histories. ⁽¹⁾ In his grand work on "The Indian Mutiny," Sir John Kaye makes the following noble observations:—
 "There is no greater literary crime than the infliction of pain without thorough enquiry into the painful statements made and ample proof of their truth, except to stand by them after their falsehood has

(1) If the reader wishes to find another instance of such a kind, he will find it in the "Introduction to the Selections from Bombay State Papers" by Professor G. W. Forrest of the Deccan College at Poona. The learned Professor, without caring for any evidence whatever, has ventured to indulge in Brahminophobia and unnecessarily given much pain by his statement, that the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath was of an inferior caste of Brahmans. Nobody in India can, in these days, be misled by such groundless assertions. We much regret that high officials in India, sometimes, make such amusing assertions about the Indians that they simply create laughter. General Sir Omoore Creagh, in his recent book "India Studies," says, without carefully sifting the evidence on the subject, that the Sikhs are not Hindus. Forty years' residence in India is certainly no evidence to support such an assertion. We cannot certainly recognize Professor Forrest or General Creagh as valid authorities entitled to give opinion on such points. By the way we ask the learned Professor what he means by creating the unnatural divisions of "Superior Brahmans" and "Inferior Brahmans." Professor Forrest's opinion on this point is as ridiculous as that of General Sir Omoore Creagh who has made the bold statement that the Sikhs are not Hindus. In my "Bhagwat Gita" I have pointed out how the General's view is entirely wrong.

been made manifest." Had Mr. Keene condescended to make a "thorough enquiry" before he hurled such an extremely improper charge against a personage, for whom Mahadji himself had, in spite of the temporary political rivalry between them, the greatest respect and regard?

The following extracts would suffice to show how great was the intimacy between the Peshwa and Mahadji and how false the rumours:—

"The Peshwa visited Mahadji Sindia at his tent on the Gokul Ashtami festival, 1793-94. Page 243. when presents were given by Sindia."

"Presents were received from Mahadji Sindia on the occasion of his visit to the Palace." 1792-93. Page 242.

"Mahadji Sindia requested that the Fort Jugi situated in the bed of the Narbada in Taluka Hande be given to him to enable him to put down the Bhils who were infesting the territory along the Narbada. His request was granted and Naro Ballal was directed to hand over the Fort to him." "Extracts from the Peshwa's Diaries" by R. E. Vad. B.A. 1778-79. Page 228.

"The office of Nayabi (deputy) in connection with the dignity of Wakil Mutalik and Amir-ul-Umrao (conferred on the Peshwa by the Emperor) was bestowed on 1792-93. Page 243.

Mahadji Sindia, and presents of jewellery, clothes, &c., were made to him."

Peshwa's Diaries.

Presents were received on the occasion of the Peshwa's visit to Mahadji Sindia's tent for dinner.
1792-93.

Presents were sent by Mahadji Sindia to the Peshwa's wife.

Presents were received on the occasion of the Peshwa's visit to Mahadji Sindia's tent on the Gokul Ashtami festival.

Presents were received from Mahadji Sindia on the occasion of the Peshwa's visit to his tent on the previous day, that is, Falgun Vadya 30, for the Shimga festival.

"The Fort of Asheergarh was not yet made over to Mahadji Sindia, as previously directed. It was now ordered to be made over to him."
1781-82. Page 238.

"The Parganas of Bhandar, Mahu Mohani, and Khalasis Fatepur in Taluka Jhansi of Sansthan Datia were given to Mahadji Sindia as Military Saranjam."
1779-80, Page 229.

Mr. Keene, while extolling Mahadji's merits, places him above all Asiatic conquerors. He says, "Among Asiatic public men, at least, there is no name that can be fairly matched with that of Mahadji Sindia, and even to these he was superior, alike

in the scale of his success, and in the qualities of his head and heart." Such a praise lavished on one of our greatest heroes is certainly most agreeable to the Marathas but public opinion in Maharashtra places Shivaji and Bajirao I above Mahadji Sindia, both in point of the scale of their success and the qualities of their head and heart. Mahadji, though his success was certainly unparalleled, had not to meet with those grave difficulties which Shivaji⁽¹⁾ and Bajirao had to face, and yet a careful study of the triumphant careers of the two ideal Maratha heroes would compel any right-thinking student of history to confess that they were superior to Mahadji Sindia in all respects and that their achievements did not fall short of that uncommon success which crowned Mahadji's great exploits. It must be borne in mind that Sindia's glorious success in Hindustan was not absolutely the outcome of his single and unaided exertions. A great deal of the glorious success of Mahadji was due to the constant guidance of the Poona Darbar and their ceaseless co-operation. Further on, Mr. Keene says that he is supported by all the depositories of Maratha tradition as well as by the works of such authors as Grant Duff and

(1) Mahadji Sindia would stand certainly below Shivaji, Balaji Vishwanath, Bajirao I and Madhav Rao I in the impartial distribution of historical justice. This view of ours is supported by Maratha authorities as well as by the opinions of Grant Duff, Elphinstone, Marshman, Taylor, Steel, and others.

Elphinstone when he places Mahadji above Shivaji and Bajirao I and other Asiatic conquerors. But we dare to declare that even a cursory perusal of the Maratha Bakhars as well as the writing of Grant Duff and Elphinstone will convince the reader that all of them strengthen our statement rather than those of Mr. Keene. The Right Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, who was eminently qualified to deliver opinions on Maratha politics and history, has pronounced his opinion on Bajirao as follows :—

“Baji Rao, ⁽¹⁾ the ablest of all the Brahman dynasty and of all the Maratha nation except Shivaji.” These weighty words of the Right Honourable gentleman, words which are certainly corroborated by Captain Grant Duff and the depositories of Maratha tradition, do quite conclusively prove that all of them unhesitatingly agree in considering the Great Shivaji and the Great Bajirao as superior to Mahadji Sindia in every respect.

(1) “In 1714 Balaji Vishwanath, a Brahman, raised himself from an inferior position in the State to the high Office of Premier. By degrees he completely gained the confidence of Shahu and persuaded him to divest himself of all the cares of Government and resign them to him. In course of time Shahu even went so far as to invest Balaji with all the ensign of authority. Every order was issued directly from the Peshwa..... This form of Government continued to the day of the last Peshwa..... Balaji caused the office to be made hereditary in his family and he was succeeded by Bajirao, his eldest son, an able man and thorough soldier, who greatly extended the Maratha dominion. His father had deprived Shahu of power; he

Mr. Keene seems to call in question the political morality of Mahadji and goes on to say that "most certainly, in the India of Sindia's time, men who came to the front in public affairs were usually either rogues or ruffians." Truly speaking, this holds good, as the Great Poet Pope says, in the case of all empire-builders in one way or the other. If the above statement be true in the case of Mahadji and his other native contemporaries, it will not at all be false in that of the Company's Governors, who were carrying on their intrigues with the Native Courts. A glance at Lord Morley's "Burke" discloses the stern facts that Clive and Hastings, whose

deprived him of liberty....." Introduction to the "Selection from Bombay State Papers," page ii. Professor Forrest is undoubtedly inaccurate in saying that Balaji or Bajirao deprived Shahu of power or liberty. We expected a better judgment on this point. We are sorry that the Professor of the Deccan College failed to see that Shahu freely recognized Balaji's merits. "The dividing line which separates the two periods coincides with the transfer of sovereign powers from the descendants of Shivaji and Shahu to the hands of the Brahman Peshwas, when, on the death of Shahu, the Maratha Capital was removed from Satara to Poona. The deed executed by Raja Shahu empowered the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the empire on the condition of perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house; and this deed was ratified, later on, by Shahu's successor, Ram Raja, when he agreed to renounce all power on condition of a small tract near Satara being assigned to his own management" Page 2. Justice Ranade's Introduction to the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries.

dark deeds were exposed by the illustrious Edmund Burke and other statesmen ⁽¹⁾ were certainly in no way better men than Mahadji and his "native contemporaries." In short, in the East as well as in the West the ways of conquest and acquisition of territories are invariably the same and they cannot, strictly speaking, stand the test of morality in its rigid sense. A saintly behaviour is both disinclined to as well as unsuited for gaining an earthly empire. A conqueror is certainly not a saint. ⁽²⁾

(1) I have given extracts from the works of Roberts, Marshman, Taylor and others to show how the servants of the East India Company from the humblest Civil servant to the Governor, were carrying nefarious and unscrupulous transactions with the Indian Princes as well as with the people. A perusal of the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons would be intensely interesting in this connection—

"Parliament was convened earlier than usual and its proceedings, which are memorable in English History, were carried on amidst much excitement on both sides. The Select Committee did its duty fearlessly, and the exposure made of fraud, peculation and mismanagement by the Company's servants, determined the Ministry to make an entire renovation in the conduct of affairs in India."—Taylor.

(2) ".....The English public was thoroughly aroused, and would be content with nothing short of a searching enquiry.....the conviction that a new constitution was needed, apart from the fiery denunciations of Burke on the one hand, and the special pleading of the East India Company on the other, was clear to moderate men of all shades of politics.....It was at this time that the final and specific

On page 195 of "Madhav Rao Sindia" Mr. Keene says that "Mahadji, evidently enough, cared as little for the terrors of the next world as for the pomp of the world he knew." We do not think that there is any shadow of truth in this statement. We know on the best possible authority that Mahadji was not such a sceptic as to care a fig for "the terrors of the next world." We are assured by the unimpeachable works of eminent Maratha writers that Mahadji was a thoroughly pious Hindu and had as great regard for the faith⁽¹⁾ he professed as his great contemporary Nana Phadnavis.⁽²⁾ Mahadji's religious accusations against Lord Clive were brought forward by the Chairman of the Select Committee....." Taylor's History of India, pages 479-480.

(1) Mahadji's favourite place of residence was Mathura and there is a consensus of opinion regarding his well-known pious propensity, which greatly developed in his old age. His love for the Hindu religion was proverbial and several authentic anecdotes corroborate the view. *Vide* Bharat-Itihas Sanshodhak Mandole. *Vide* pages 107-111 of "Life of Jivabada Bakshi," where the account of the meeting of Saint Sohirobanath and Mahadji Sindia is given in detail. Does it not prove the falsehood of Mr. Keene's statement? The sacred hymns composed by Mahadji Sindia are worthy of being remembered in this connection.

(2) *Vide* "Mahadji Sindia" by the Hon'ble Mr. Nana, page 269, where the learned author remarks as follows:

“पाशकाम सोडे धार्मिक बुद्धीने अर्पण के आपल्या उमा वसंत ईश्वरमूर्ति
पुष्पक कोट चले ली। त्या समर्थ विप स्वान, पूसा हे त्यांची पुष्पक तिल नैमित्तिक
होती.....त्यांची वसति पूर्ण श्रद्धा होती.....विशोदयनी त्यांना रामचंद्राचा पुत्र
कुश यांचे केलो अशी संकल्पना आहे, त्यावरून त्यांचे वंशाने कडे पाह्या राज्याने
हिल्यावर लोक बुरू करिष्येन पाटीक बोसोनी तोषा चार्कवल्या सोडोने अने गांगतात....”

zeal was as remarkable as that of any other pious Maratha Sardar of his time. *Sindia was more orthodox than heterodox*. He was decidedly inclined towards superstition rather than towards scepticism. Throughout Mahadji's career one never meets with any act that can furnish the least confirmation for the obviously bold and unwarranted assertion which Mr. Keene makes. As regards Mahadji's love of pomp it would be more accurate to say that Sindia, though himself of simple habits and unassuming disposition, did like to be surrounded by pomp and splendour which he made subservient to his ambitious views of aggrandisement. Though Mahadji Sindia was "content with the substance of power without caring to drape himself in its robes," yet the dazzling magnificence of Mahadji's camp and Court forms the subject of many a graphic description. (1) It was Sindia's *bonhomie* and love of pomp and splendour by which he had won the heart of his young master at Poona and thus paved the way for the realisation of those grand views,

(1) Our readers would learn much about the dazzling magnificence which characterized the mode of living in those days of European officers in India, who had golden "Hakkas" and had large emoluments in addition to their pay. "The Resident at Benares at this time, as we have seen, had a salary of £ 1,350 a year, which would now be considered fair remuneration for the position, but he made besides in indirect ways the huge amount of £ 10,000 a year, and if we are to believe Lord Cornwallis, other perquisites besides..." P. E. Roberts, page 226.

which Mahadji was afterwards inclined to abandon at the wise and far-sighted suggestions of Hari Pant Phadke, the common friend of Nana and Mahadji and the unswerving well-wisher of the Maratha Empire.⁽¹⁾ At Delhi Mahadji was very particular that the old and forlorn Shah Alum's installation on the throne should be celebrated with much pomp and splendour, though the Shah himself would have been quite contented if all the display of pomp would have been altogether dispensed with. Under these circumstances, it cannot be quite correct or accurate to say that Sindia did not care for the pomp of the world he knew.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, there is a strong evidence to believe that of all Sindia's Maratha contemporaries, Mahadji, notwithstanding the fact that he usually wore a comparatively less gorgeous apparel, cared most for

(1) "Sindia had won the goodwill of the Peshwa..... He took pride in the humble origin of his race and had a deep veneration for the ancient institutions of his native land. His personal tastes were those rather of the mountain warriors of the Deccan than of a great prince.....The chief object throughout his life was to make the Maratha federation supreme on the continent....." Introduction, Forrest, P. 29.

(2) In his declining age Mahadji Sindia had become very fond of the company of saints and saintly persons. In his youth also he was extremely God-fearing and orthodox. Mr. Nahu's view is already given as regards this point. *Vide* also "Bharat Itihas Sangrah," Vol. XVII, wherein the account of Saint Dattamath of Ujjain is given. Saint Dattamath accompanied Sindia to Hindustan and remained with him at Mathura and Gwalior.

a display of pomp which was one of the unfailing instruments which he frequently made use of in gaining his political ends. We refrain from noticing such and similar statements with more detailed discussion, though by the way we cannot help observing that Mr. Keene and others are far from right when they assert that Sindia desired to be independent of the Peshwa.⁽¹⁾ Elsewhere we have said something on this point.

That Mr. Keene is wrong in believing that Mahadji Sindia cared as little for the terrors of the next world as for the pomp of the world he knew can be established by over-whelming evidence. Mahadji was exceedingly fond of the company of saints, as we have observed elsewhere. The account of the meeting of Sindia with the saint Solirobanath is very interesting. This saint was

(1) Young India suspects some diplomacy when such groundless assertions are found in historical works written by European scholars. We do not like to dwell on this unpleasant subject, but we give below the very words of Mahadji Sindia in reply to the letter from Nana Phadnavis. They would undoubtedly show the tenor of Sindia's attitude towards the Peshwa, who had the keenest regard for Mahadji Sindia:—

“व्यास आम्ही जे केलें ते श्रीमंतांचें आहें. व्यास आमची निष्ठा श्रीमंतांचे पायापाशीं आहें. त्या पक्षां श्रीमंतांचे प्रतापे झाले आहें ते पुढें होईल, ते ही व्यास प्रतापे होईल. दुसरा कोणी असता तरी व्यास पैच पाहोन केलें नितकें व्यर्थ होऊन, मुळ्या खांद्याहीस येऊन गेले असत. आम्ही, मेहनत केली व कुरीतच आहोंत, हें ईश्वर जाणें, व ईश्वराचें जागा श्रीमंत आहंत ते जाणतील. सर्व आहें ते श्रीमंतांचें आहें. श्रीमंतांपाशीं येऊं नेह्वां समक्ष विनंती करून सर्व निवदन करूं. याप्रमाणें उत्तर मागितलें.”

Itihas Samgraha, Page 89, Vol. II., 1910.

regardless of the things of the world and taught some good lessons to Mahadji, which were greatly appreciated by Sindia. It is also remarkable that Sindia indulged in the pleasure of writing sacred poems dedicated to the glory of the Almighty. One hymn, which we give here for the benefit of our readers, is worthy of perusal :—

“चलाचला तुम्ही नंदगृहाप्रति चला । यशोदे उदरीं पुत्र जन्मला परम हर्षं
पावळारे ॥ १० ॥ सकळ मिळुनी तुम्ही दधि नवनीत घट भरुनीं पाहूं सुळारे ।
मंगल द्रव्यें घेउनि वाघें गजर करूं बहू भळारे ॥ १ ॥ नंदांगणीं ते गोप येउनी मिळविती
दधि हळदीलार । अंगिं परस्पर मिन्हित करिवां बरदपाणि उमटळारे ॥ २ ॥
हविर्त अवनी मंगल दावित वासर अति शोभळारे । वैकुंठ केवळ गोकुळ सासत ‘ माधव
शिखू ’ प्रगटळारे ॥ ३ ॥

This sacred hymn well points out the devotional warmth and deep faith of Mahadji Sindia and it is sufficient to prove the inaccuracy of Mr. Keene's statement. The triumphal entry of Mahadji Sindia in the Mathura City and his gift of a Jagir to the chief Temple of Shri Krishna in that holy place deserve attention. ⁽¹⁾

It is quite necessary that something should be said in this work regarding the erroneous view of European writers of Maratha History when they say that Mahadji Sindia attempted to found an independent kingdom, and that he desired to be independent of and separate from the Maratha confederacy, ⁽²⁾ headed by the Peshwa. A perusal

(1) Vide page 105 of “ Life of Jivaba Dada Bakshi. ”

(2) A perusal of these pages would certainly convince our readers that Mahadji Sindia's grand aim was to unite

of the foregoing pages would throw ample light on this point. As, however, the Maratha view of this subject is not discussed in any historical work written in English we would present it, based as it is on evidence which the Hon'ble Mr. Natu has incorporated in his valuable work "Life of Mahadji Sindia" written in the Marathi language. The conquered territory was divided in accordance with the agreement ⁽¹⁾ between the Peshwa, Sindia and Holkar in 1789-1790. This important event took place at Mathura, where Mahadji had been encamped on account of the charm which that sacred place had for Sindia. Sindia and Holkar received equal shares under the Peshwa's orders. Says Mr. Natu:—

“या वाच्यावरून व इतर कापदपत्रांवरून महादजी शिंदे यांना आपलें स्वतंत्र राज्य स्थापन केलें असें जे उघडजी ग्रंथकार लिहितात ते खरें मित्र नाहीं. पूर्वी थोरले बाजीराव पासत जी ब्रिटिशां चालकी तीन वेळोवेळीं कायम करण्यांत आली आहे; त्यांत जें दिवल्यास पुण दरबाराकडून बरेचवर हुकूम जाऊन बंदोबस्त होत होता.”

and extend the Maratha Empire and not to weaken it by internal feuds. See Sindia's reprimand to his Chitnis (Secretary) when the latter desired to fire a salute in honour of Sindia's victory over Holkar's forces at Lakheri in 1792, when Mahadji was actually moved to tears.

(1) The Rohilkhand portion of the territory acquired by the Marathas was not divided and later on led to quarrels between Sindia and Holkar, the hostility culminating in an open appeal to arms.

It was the push of territory in Rohilkhand yielding about eleven lakhs a year that led to serious hostility between Sindia and Holkar and continued for a long time to disturb the peace of the Maratha Empire. *Vide* Page 209 of Natu's Sindia.

Mathura was the favourite place of residence of Mahadji Sindia who was very anxious to extend the Maratha Rule to Benares and thereby gratify the great Peshwa Madhav Rao I's desire by establishing the Hindu Rule in the chief center of Hinduism. So far back as the year 1742 the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, during the course of his expedition against Bengal, stopped at Mirzapur with the object of taking Benares. ⁽¹⁾ Malharji Holkar heartily advocated the idea of founding the Maratha rule in the sacred city of the Hindus and re-building a Shankar Temple in the place where a Masjid was built in Aurangzeb's time in the vicinity of Shri Vishweshwar Temple. ⁽²⁾ It is extremely interesting to note the enthusiasm with which the Peshwa and his Sardars Sindia, Holkar and others exerted themselves to bring Mathura, Dwarka and Benares under Hindu Rule. ⁽³⁾ That Mahadji Sindia felt a particular delight in his camp in Mathura

(1) See the Peshwa's Diary, wherein mention is made of the Peshwa's camp at Mirzapur on the 1st of June 1742.

(2) *Vide* Itihas Sangraha, Page 44, Vol. II, wherein is published a letter from the Family Records of Sardar Dixit of Shendurni in Khandesh, dated 27th June 1742:

“ मळदारजी होळकरांचे चित्तांत कीं, मशीद विश्रधराची जातवारी जवळील ते पाटून देवालय करावे, परंतु पंचद्वीप ब्राम्हण चित्ता करितात कीं, ते मशीद प्रसिद्ध आहे. पातळाचा मुकम नमतां पाटील देऊळ करील. एकादा पादशाहादुष्ट आळा म्हणजे ब्राम्हणांस मरण येईल.”

(3) Ramdas Swami, Guru of Shivaji, had asked for a Jagir in Moghal territory, indirectly, of course, raising Shivaji's spirit for conquering the Moghal dominions. Saint

needs no further mention, because Sindia was keenly influenced by the counsels of the saints in Maharashtra and Upper India.

We wish to present to our readers an extract from Mr. Compton's work, setting forth in forcible language the character and achievements of Mahadji. Says Mr. Compton:—

“ Gifted with political sagacity, skilled in artifice, and a master of intrigue, Mahadji's schemes were ambitious but practicable. Had he lived there is but little doubt that he would have fulfilled a portion at least of the task he set himself, and founded an independent ⁽¹⁾ dynasty which might have claimed a place by the side of the greatest in India. His military talents were of the first rank, and he was not less a great statesman than a great soldier. It was the combination of the highest qualities of each that enabled him to recognise the merits of De Boigne, ⁽²⁾ and adopt them to his purpose.

Narayan Dixit, for whom the great Peshwa Baji Rao had the highest respect, similarly asked for a Jagir near Mathura and Dwarka. *Vide* Page 39, Vol. II, June Number of the *Itihās Samgraha*. Narayan Dixit died at Benares on 14th October 1748 at the age of 120, and was held in high esteem by Aurangzeb and other Emperors of Delhi.

(1) We have elsewhere shown how the idea of an “independent” kingdom, attributed to Mahadji, is groundless. Does Mr. Compton adduce any evidence ?

(2) Our readers would be greatly delighted to know something in detail about De Boigne whose name is inseparably connected with that of Mahadji Sindia. Else-

Boldly breaking free from the trammels of long established custom, he superseded an untrained multitude with a comparatively small but compact and highly disciplined army, which formed a powerful weapon in his hand. His enterprise met with its due reward, for it raised him up to a position which knew no compeer and feared no rival. The fighting machine he called into existence made him invincible. Before his death, in addition to his vast possessions in Central India and Malwa, across the Chambal,

where in this work much has been said about his Brigades. On one point we wish to discuss a little more. Was De Boigne hostile to the British power? Lord Wellesley's letter to General Lake, dated the 8th of July 1803, concludes with the following remarks: 'Mr. De Boigne, Sindia's late general, is now the chief confidant of Neapolean Bonaparte. He is constantly at St. Cloud. I leave you to judge why and wherefore.' The conquest of the British possessions in the East was one of the most cherished ambitions of Bonaparte, and towards the furtherance of this object, he had undertaken the Egyptian Campaign and entered into correspondence with Tipu Sultan of Mysore. De Boigne was in Paris and Perron had opened communications with the French Government. Bonaparte despatched a fleet of six men-of-war to Pondichery under Monsieur Lenois and 1,400 picked troops commanded by General Decaen for the purpose of destroying the English power in India. The Marquis of Wellesley blighted these hopes of Bonaparte. General De Boigne's grandson, Count De Boigne, denounced these charges of hostility towards England in 1892 on the authority of authentic deeds signed by De Boigne and Perron's letters which are in the possession of the Count. *Vide* De Boigne by Compton, pages 94-99. The publication of Perron's letters would add much to our knowledge about this incident.

Rajputana was his vassal and Hindustan his own. From the Deccan in the South to the Siwaliks in the North, from the valley of the Ganges in the East to the deserts of Bikaner in the West, the sway of the old Patel was undisputed. The kingdom he left behind him was the most powerful in India and it owed its circumstance not less to the statesmanship of Mahadji Sindia than to the battalions of Benoit De Boigne. The learned scholar of Maharashtra, Professor Bhanu, speaks very appreciatively about Sindia and his life-work in the following terms :—

“महादजी शिंदे अलौकिक पुरुष होते यांत शंका नाही. या रणजुर, सद्गुणनी, धर्मनिष्ठ, पण महत्वाकांक्षी बहादुरांत थोरल्या शिवाजी महाराजांची अप्रकट आणि थोरल्या शाहू महाराजांची प्रकट इच्छा पूर्ण केली. यद्यपि नाना साहेब पेशव्यांच्या उग्रामी, भूत व कार्याकार्यविवेकी अध्यक्षत्वाखाली मात्र नियमाने वागणाऱ्या पण स्वभावतः उग्रामी असणाऱ्या रघुनाथराव दादासाहेबांनीं अटकपार भगवा शहा नेऊन “गंगा घोट न्हाईल” ही म्हण साध केली, हे खरे आहे, तथापि दिल्लीच्या पलशडाम न दखिर्लां—नळें त्या विनाय्यास आश्रय दऊन दिल्लीची पालशाही महादजीनीं मराठी साम्राज्यांत अंतर्भूत केली हा अपूर्व योग होय, अने महत्त्वपूर्ण परिणाम. हिंदुवानांनी (अर्थात उत्तर हिंदुस्थानांनी) मुघलांस सरदार व जागीरदार व त्यांचे प्रमाणे राजपूत राजे या सर्वांस मराठी सत्त्वाच्या पगक्रम दाखवून मराठ्यांचे वनस्थ केवळ कराव्यास लावणारा, क्रायती सैन्य तयार करून प्रत्यक्ष इंग्लिश फौजांसारख्या बलिष्ठ व सुसज्ज राहूदां बनवी करण्याची हात धरून ती सिद्धप्राप्त करणारा, मेनिफोप प्रमाणे वागवून त्यांनी एकनिष्ठा संपादन करणारा, सुवर्णदंडांचे डावपेच मोठ्या कौशल्याने खेळून आपले वर्चस्व प्रतिष्ठापित करणारा, मराठी सेनापती अठराव्या शतकाच्या हिमालया चरणांत एकठा एक महादजीने होता, असे निःशंक मताने मी म्हणलों. राघोबाच्या विघातक बंडाचा बीमोड करण्यांत नानाला जर कोणी मनोभावाने साहाय्य केलें असेल तर तें शिंदे, फडके व

पुस्तकान यानिंच होय, त्यांत ही शिखांचा स्वाव, त्यांचें मित्रासंभाषण, त्यांचें प्रसंगावधान, त्यांचें धय, आणि त्यांचें वीर्यशाली मेनापतित्व यांचा विशेष उपयोग झाला.” (1)

Thus fell “The mighty pillar of the Maratha Empire” in 1794. The October of 1795 witnessed the fall of the young Peshwa Sawai Madhav Rao (2) whom Sindia loved so heartily. The fall of the second pillar of the Maratha Empire followed in 1800 A. D. (3) In this year Nana Phadnavis died after

(1) *Vide* “The last two years of Mahadji Sindia” by Professor Chintaman Gangadhar Bhanu of Poona.

(2) On the 27th October 1795, the British Envoy at Poona wrote to the Bombay Government to inform them that the Young Peshwa “in a temporary fit of delirium jumped, or fell, from an upper room or terrace into a fountain below. The Envoy offered the unfortunate Prince the aid of his own surgeon.” Introduction to Forrest’s Selections from Bombay State Papers, page 29.

(3) On the 28th of May 1800, the Governor-General the Marquis of Wellesley addressed a letter of condolence to the Peshwa Baji Rao II on hearing of Nana Phadnavis’ death. “I have received with great concern the intelligence of the much-lamented death of Balaji Pandit (Nana Phadnavis). The loss of persons distinguished for their talents, great qualities, and abilities is at all times a subject of regret. The melancholy news, therefore, of the death of Balaji Pandit, the able Minister of your State, whose upright principles and honourable views, and whose zeal for the welfare and prosperity both of the dominions of his own immediate superiors and of other powers, were so justly celebrated, occasions extreme grief and concern. You must feel a peculiar degree of sorrow at his loss; such, however, being the will of God, there is no remedy but patience and resignation. It is

receiving every form of insult and injury from Raghoba's infamous son, Bajirao II, who survived to see the actual fall of the Maratha Empire in 1818. (1)

Conclusion.

So far we have had a pleasant mental communion with Mahadji Sindia, one of the greatest persons in the History of the Marathas—a person, who was prominently identified with the establishment of the Maratha Empire, founded by the Great Shivaji, revived

therefore incumbent upon you to acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, to cease from unavailing grief yourself, and to endeavour to console others affected from the same cause."

(Sd.) WELLESLEY.

(1) Our readers would be glad to know that the illustrious statesman Nana Phadnavis was quite unwilling to accede to the succession of Raghoba's son Baji Rao to the Peshwaship. We give below an extract from the letter of the Assistant Resident at Poona to the Governor-General, dated 29th October 1795: "There is, however, an idea very prevalent here that Nana Phadnavis (whose influence on the State is too well-known to render it necessary for me to dwell upon it) is disinclined to his succession and that he would wish to supplant him by some infant of the family. I have all along been aware that such a thing was possible, nay probable, from the aversion that Nana must have towards Baji Rao and all his connections and adherents.....From present appearances I am inclined to think that if Nana can obtain the sanction of Raghoji Bhosla, Daulat Rao Sindia, Farsharam Bhanu, Tukoji Holkar and Raste, he will set aside Baji Rao." Forrest's Selections, Page 542, Vol. 1.

"The death of Nana Phadnavis sealed the ruin of the Maratha confederacy." Forrest's Introduction, page 31.

by the wise Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa, extended and strengthened by Baji Rao I and Madhav Rao the Great. Mahadji Sindia's career excelled in the triumphs of war and it was left to him to give the finishing touches in company with Nana Phadnavis, to the noble work of completing the Hindu re-conquest of India during the last half of the eighteenth century. The times are altered and under the benign dispensations of the Divine Providence, India is witnessing the triumphs of peace under the aegis of the British nation and Mahadji Sindia's worthy descendant and namesake the present Ruler of Gwalior, H. H. Maharaja MADHAV RAO SINDIA, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D., has conspicuously taken the lead in ensuring the triumphs of peace by hearty co-operation with the British power. The feuds between Sindia and Holkar that arose during the years 1790-1802 have happily been buried in oblivion by the sagacity of H. H. the late Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindia and H. H. the late Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar II, between whom brotherly relations were firmly established in the same manner as they existed in the times of Ranoji Rao Sindia and Malharrao Holkar. Great credit, indeed, is due to the chivalrous and wise Rajput Prince, the late Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh of Jaipur, who, with a laudable spirit of conciliation and meekness, brought about friendly relations between the Royal Family of Sindia and the Rajputana Princes and thus obliterated the sad memories of disagreement and struggle between the Marathas and

the Rajputana chiefs during the latter half of the eighteenth century. ⁽¹⁾

The iniquities and intrigues of the East India Company have been condemned by the British nation and the British Crown has undertaken the Government of India after the Mutiny of 1857, which, as the Divine Providence ordained, was suppressed with the potent aid of Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindia ⁽²⁾ and his Diwan Sir Dinkar Rao. Sindia's valuable help has been ungrudgingly acknowledged in glowing terms by a recent historian. ⁽³⁾ "It would not be easy to estimate how much Great Britain owes to two great Indian statesmen, Sir Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad, for the retention of her Indian Empire. Sir Dinkar Rao, the Minister of the young Sindia, did much to keep his master loyal, and the importance of this can hardly be over-stated. Had Sindia raised the standard of revolt, every Maratha State would have joined him. Sindia's loyalty, says General Imnes, "saved India for the British."

(1) The historic visit of H. H the Late Maharaja Jayaji Rao Sindia, G.C.S.I., G.C.B., C.I.E., Counsellor of the Queen-Empress, to Jaipur in 1877 was serviceable in strengthening the ties of friendship between the Ruler of Gwalior and the Rajputana Princes. A detailed account of this visit is officially preserved at Jaipur.

(2) *Vide* Pages 92-104 of the "Life of Raoraja Sir Dinkar Rao" by the present writer for details in this connection.

(3) Mr. P. E. Roberts, page 379.

Under the Divine Providence Britain's Rule in India, though a foreign rule, is destined to be a blessing⁽¹⁾ and the high-spirited and talented Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindia has enthusiastically identified himself with and is at the same time a mighty pillar of the British Empire, based on the noble principles of Justice, Equality, and Liberty. It is, indeed, the glory and the proud privilege of the Royal Family of Sindia to be so honourably and so inseparably associated with three great Empires and to be so deservedly enshrined in the pages of history.⁽²⁾ We conclude this historical biography of a great Maratha General and Statesman with our sincere prayers to the Almighty Shri Rama for blessing the high-minded Statesman-Soldier Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindia of Gwalior⁽³⁾ with long life, happiness and prosperity and a glorious extension

(1) "Still the forces of ordered progress so dear to the heart of mankind, were triumphant. In spite of a hundred checks and many errors, in spite of individual acts of harshness and injustice that no impartial student can deny, Britain raised India to the status of a great Empire." *India in Transition* by H. H. the Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., pages 72-74.

(2) The Divine Providence has, in His inscrutable ways and workings, thus ordained that under the Pax Britannica India should be united again for a common advance towards the goal of peaceful triumphs.

(3) "H. H. the Maharaja Sindia gave a glowing account of the progress of the State during the past twenty-five years he has been at the head of its administration. Exports and imports have risen from 208 lakhs and 160 lakhs ten years ago to 440 lakhs and 519 lakhs of rupees,

of Fame and Dominions under the splendid auspices and appreciation of H. M. the King-Emperor, the sincere friend and well-wisher of Gwalior.

respectively, last year. The area under cultivation has increased from 32 lakhs of acres to 46 lakhs, the increase having been made possible by irrigation schemes which have cost the State 187 lakhs. Over 1,000 miles of pucca roads and 400 miles of new railway lines have been opened. The number of factories has gone up from 9 to 131. Funds amounting to over eight crores of rupees have been set apart for improving the State. During His Highness' regime, the annual income of the State has more than doubled itself from 117 lakhs to 240 lakhs. Encouraged by the example of Mysore, Gwalior has just inaugurated a Board of Economic Development whose progress, we hope, will be as rapid and as smooth as that of the Mysore Economic Conference."

—*United India.*

APPENDIX.

Jayappa was an exceedingly brave soldier and possessed the entire confidence of his master Nana Sahib Peshwa, whose letters to Jayappa bespeak the keen interest the great Peshwa took in the career of this illustrious member of the Sindia family. During the time that Jayappa was in Marwar, the Peshwa addressed to him several letters, which are worthy of careful study. For the benefit of our readers, we give below an English rendering of some of the letters. The reader ought to bear in mind that Nana Sahib was the most prominent diplomatist of his time and his statesmanlike and farsighted policy was the instrumental cause of the grand accession of strength which the Marathas had obtained in 1760. (See Grant Duff and Elphinstone). It is impossible to do justice to all the valuable communications, many of which were for obvious reasons, written in the great Peshwa's own handwriting.

No. 1—"The domestic affairs here are of a most embarrassing nature. It is out of place at the present crisis to enter into details with regard to this matter. You must, under any circumstances, pay no heed to any communications sent by the great or the small. Your unswerving determination as well as the unflinching devotion of Malharba Holkar must be of such a character as to be undoubtedly favourable to our plans, which will be made known to you on your arrival here. It will be a source of the greatest satisfaction to us if a favourable reply is sent by you.

"On the receipt of your reply details regarding this matter would be forwarded to you."

This letter is throughout written in the handwriting of Balaji Baji Rao Peshwa and is addressed to Jayappa.

No. 2—The confidence, always reposed in Jayappa by Nana Sahib and so much spoken of in Maratha works, was of such a nature as to suffer no abatement. The most marvellous thing about this matter is that when Tara Bai and several Maratha chiefs were spreading nets for the destruction of the Peshwa's party, Nana Sahib depended without any misgiving of heart on the support of Jayappa, whom Tara Bai's party endeavoured to the utmost to draw in their conspiracy. In connection with these varying currents of Maratha diplomacy, the following extract from a letter written by Nana Sahib himself to Jayappa Sindia, will prove a pleasant perusal:—

"Differences have arisen between us and Tara Bai since the last year and this circumstance has been the source of several intrigues and innumerable attempts to bring the Peshwa's party to the ground. Domestic dissensions are, indeed, of a terrible natureIt has also been brought to our notice that Tara Bai's party are carrying on some negotiations with you. But of what avail are to be all their negotiations with you ? (Jayappa was unswervingly loyal to his master the Peshwa.) But what is most worthy of attention in this, is that they are unflagging in their attempts. Details as to the fresh developments in this affair, will be communicated to you later on. "

खंड १० वा.

पत्रांक ४६.

॥ श्री ॥

१६८९ माघ शुद्ध १३

नकल.

राजश्री गोविंदराव कृष्ण, कादार, परगणे शहाजहांपूर, गोसावी यांस :—

अखंडित लक्ष्मी राजमान्य स्नेहांकित महादजी शिंदे दंडवत. मुा. समान सिंजन मया व अलफ. तुम्हाकडून पेश्वर सालवे एवजी खरेदी कापड गुमास्ते आबाजी नार्क कांवरम व रामचंद्र नार्क परांजणे, साहूकार पुणेकर, रदकज रुपये ७५,००० पाउण लाव देविले असेत. तरी परगणे मजकुराचे एवजी रसदेच्या भरण्याचा एवज श्रावण मासा पावता करून कबज देणें. दुसऱ्या वराता तुम्हांवर जालियास हा एवज अगोदर देऊन मग दुसरी वराताचा एवज देणें. जाणिजे. क्र. १० माह रमजान. बहुत काय लिहिण हे विनंति.

सदरहू एवज वायद्याप्रमाणें पुण्यास पावता करूं, हे विनंती.

सदरहू वरात तुको शामजी बाजवत पाठविली असे.

पान २५.

पत्रांक २०१.

॥ श्री ॥

१७०० माघ वद्य ३.

नकल.

करार जाबता शपथपूर्वक राजश्री दादा साहेब यांचा :—

राजश्री माधवराव नारायण पंत प्रधान यांणी विद्यमान राजश्री तुकोजी होळकर व महादजी शिंदे मुा. तिसर सवैन मया व अलफ. तुम्हां आम्हांशीं नानाप्रकारे विग्रह राज्य लोभास्तव वाढोन आली दौलत साधावी यास्तव प्रयत्न बहुत केला. इंग्रजाकडे जाऊन त्यास सहाय्य करून बरोबर नेऊन इंदरी तळेगांव पर्यंत आलों. परस्पर लढाईचा प्रसंग धडला. अदेशा पहातां आपण राज्य लोभाविष्ट जाल्याने इंग्रजाकडे दौलत जाती असे जाणून उभयतां सरदारांकडे आलों. सरदारांना स्वर्चाची बेगमी करून देतो आणि स्नान संध्या करून स्वस्थ राहो असे मागितले. त्याप्रमाणे मान्य करून स्वर्चाची बेगमी अलाहिदा नेमणुकीप्रमाणे नकी बारा लक्षांची तामा लाऊन दिली. ती आपण घेऊन, स्नान संध्या करून, झांशीस राहून, राज्याचा लोभ धरून दौलतीचा वारसा करणार नाही, व दौलतीस वांकडे पडे असे आचरण आम्हापासून होणार नाही. नेमणूक करून दिव्ही त्यांत सत्कालक्षेप करून स्वस्थ राहूं. तुम्ही पंत प्रधान राज्याचे शणी व चिरंजीव बाजीराव रघुनाथ तुमचे कारभारी

करून यावे, असे उभयतां सरदारांचे व आमचे विचार ठरून, आम्ही मान्य जालीं. तुम्ही व चिरंजीव बाजीराव यांणीं तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी नाना साहेब व भाऊ साठेब धर्णी व कारभारी या अन्ये वतंत होत त्याप्रमाणें प्रवृत्तपण आल्यावर परस्पर वतविं. स्वामी भवक धर्मे उभयतांनीं अन्योन्य निष्कपटपणें चालवावा. धनीपणाची व कारभाराची पुस्तपन्हा तुम्ही उभयतांची उभयतां सरदार करतील. आम्ही या दौलती संबंधी कारभाराच्या प्रकरणांत एकंदर मत घालणार नाहीं. वर्तणुकेच्या कलम-बंदीची याद अलाहिदा लिहून दिली आहे त्याप्रमाणें आचरण करूं. उभयतां सरदारांचे विश्वासानें परस्परं करार ठरले आहेत, त्याप्रमाणें तुम्हांकडून अमलांत यावें. आत्माकडूनही अमलांत येईल. यांत अंतर करूं तर श्रीसांबाची व गंगा-भागीरथीची शपथ असे. जाणिजे. छ. १५ माहे मोहरम. सुा तिसर सौबेन मया व अलफ. मुकाम इंदुरी तळेगांव.

पानें १३९-४०.

पत्रांक २२२.

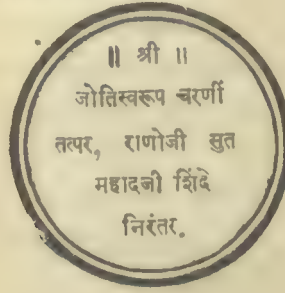
॥ श्री ॥

१७०१ पौष वद्य १४.

राजश्री कतेशिंगराव गायकवाड येनाबासखेल समशेर बहादुर गोमावीं यांसी :—

सकल पुणालंकरण अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकित महादजी शिंदे. राम राम. विनंती. ऊपर येथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीय कुशल लिहीत असले पाहिजे विशेष. आपणाकडून राजश्री नारायण गोविंद आमगांवचे सुकामी आले यांणीं कित्येक आपणाकडील धरोब्याचे अर्थ सांगितले. त्याजवरून कळलें. ऐशास पूर्वी पायून आपला आमना स्नेह चालत आला आहे. त्याच प्रमाणें पुढें चालावा, हेच आमचे मानस आहे. त्यास, सांप्रत गजराथप्रांते इंग्रज यांणीं दंगा केला आहे. त्यांचें पारिपत्य करणे प्राप्त आहे. येविपर्यां मुजरत आपणाकडे पत्र पाठविलें आहे. व हालीं मशारनिव्हेस सांगितले आहे ते आपणाम लिहितील. आम्हीही दर मजल येत असो. आम्ही येऊं तोपर्यंत आपण दम धरून, ठाणी जतन करून, शत्रूचे पारिपत्यास शैव द्यावा. त्याचा पराश्रम होऊं देऊं नये. आपणास सामिल व्हावें झणून चि. रा. भागीरथराव शिंदे यांस लिहून पाठविलें आहे. आजपर्यंत आपण सरकारचें लक्ष्य राविलेंच आहे. त्याच प्रमाणें पुढें सरकार उपयोग करून दाखवावा. वरकड इकडील अर्थ आपणासीं दुसरा नाही, हें मशारनिव्हे लिहितील. पत्रास साठ तोफा समागमे आहेत. त्या दरकुचांत लांब मजलींत चालत नाहीत. याकरितां पंचवीस तोफा समागमे घेऊन, वरकड तोफा मागे ठेविल्या. मागाहून येतील. तृत् पंचवीस

तोफा थोर लहान बराबर घेतल्या. त्यामुद्धां जलदच येऊन पोहोचतां, तोपावेतो
इंग्रजांस ठामत राखावें. वर्तमान वरचेवरी कळवीत जावें. रा. छ. २७ मोहोरम.
बहुत काय लिहिणें लोभ कीज हे विनंति, मोतिबमूद.



पानें १७८-७९.

पत्रांक २६६.

॥ श्री ॥

१७०२ मार्गशीर्ष.

राजश्री याविराजित राजमान्य राजश्री रावजी स्वामीचे भेवेशीः—

दिवाकर पुरुषोत्तम कृतानेक नमस्कार.

.....शिंदे, होळकर आपापले स्थळाम निरोप घेऊन छावणीम
गले. उभयतांचे ऐक्य फार चांगले जाहले पानें १८९-९०.

पत्रांक २६६.

॥ श्री ॥

१७०२ चैत्र.

*** (पल) हणांचे पारिपत्य करून नेस्तनाबूद केले असतील. इकडील
मजकूर तरी गाडर नांम इंग्रज वसईचा किल्ला घेऊन हावमरी होऊन, बांगपाटाच्या
भार्थी घेऊन, अडचणीची जागा धरून बसल्या आहे. त्यास, इकडील फौजा राजश्री
हरी बलाळ व तुकोजी होळकर त्याचे तोंडावर आहेत. नित्य सडें जाऊन, तोफा
मेऊन लागू करून, तोफांचा व बाणांचा मार करितात. दहा वीस माणूस जाया
होते. धाटाव्याली राजश्री परशुराम रामचंद्र यांस दहा बारा हजार फौजेनिशीं
पाठविले. दोन तीन लढाया करून रसदां लुटली, लोक मारिले, बंदुका वगैरे
आणिल्या, व त्यांची रस्तेबंदी केली आहे. त्याच्या लष्करांत महागाई आहे, व लोक
नित्य मोरे व काळे कवाडतात दहा पांच नित्य येतात. मैदानांत येता तरी ठीक होतें.
त्यास त्यांच्याने पुढे येदवत नाही, याचे पारिपत्य लवकरच होईल, अकांठप्रांती इंग्रजांनीं

कित्येक ठाणीं, मुख्य घेतला होता, त्यास हैदरखान बहादूर याणीं तिकडे जाऊन, अर्काट येऊन फुलचरी व चैनपटण वगैरे जेर केले, व फरांसीस खान मशारनिल्हेनीं आणून इंग्रजांस जखेंत आणिला आहे. सारांश. तुम्ही तिकडील पलटणाचें पारिपत्य करून हटविलें, पळविलें, किंवहुना पारिपत्यही केलेंच असाल. तुम्हाकडील इश्रतींनीं इंग्रजांची कंवारच नसेल. तुम्ही मातबर सरदार, मातबर मनसुबे करून कित्येक शत्रू पराभविले. तेथे इंग्रजांचा मजकूर काय ? इंग्रज साहुकार असतां, त्याणीं शिपाईगिरीची उमेद धरून लढाईचा कस्त धरतो ! तरी काय चिंता आहे ? तुम्ही त्याचें पारिपत्य करालच. तीर्थस्वरूप कैलासवासी नानासाहेब व राऊ साहेब पुण्यवान, त्यांचा आशीर्वाद आमचे मस्तकीं आहे. त्यांचे आशीर्वादे व कृपेकरून शत्रूचा पराभव होईल.

पान १९०-९१.

पत्रांक २८१.

॥ श्री ॥

१७०७ माघ वेंच १३.

राजश्रीयाविराजित राजमान्य राजश्री शिवाजी विठ्ठल, स्वामी गोसावी यांसी, पोष्य माधवराव नारायण प्रधान नमस्कार. विनंति ऊपरि येथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीय लिहीत जाणें. विशेष. संस्थान करोली येथे सरकारचा अम्मल आहे. त्यास, संवत् १८३९ पासून सरकारचे अंमलाचा ऐवज येणें, त्याविषयीं रा. महादजी शिंदे याणीं ठराव करून दिव्हा. त्याजवरून संस्थानिकांनीं ठाणे मौजे कुतघोन व तर्फे मामदोल ऐवजांत लाऊन दिव्हीं आहेत. त्याम, मौजे मजकुरी व तर्फे मजकुरी सबलगटाकडील ठाणीं तुम्हीं घालणार म्हणोन हुजूर विदित झालें. त्याज वरोन हें पत्र लिहिलें असे, तरी संस्थानिकांनीं आपले संस्थानार्पणीं मौजे मजकूर व तर्फे मजकूर सरकारचे ऐवजीं सरकारांत ठाणींमुद्रां हवालीं केलीं असतां, तुम्हीं उपद्रव करणार, हें ठीक नसे. तुम्हीं ते प्रांतीं मौजेमुद्रां असतां, सरकारचा अमल बसवून द्यावा, तो अर्थ न होतां, जाहत्या अंमलास खेळ करितां, हे गोष्ट उत्तम नाहीं. मौजे मजकुरास व ताल्लूमजकुरास तुम्हीं कोणविषयीं उपद्रव न देतां, सरकारचे ऐवजाचा झाडा होऊन येईतें कारणें. फिरोत बोभाट येऊं न देणें. जाणिजे. छ. २६, रविलाखर, सुपसीत ममानीन मया व अलफ. बहुत काय लिहिणें, हे विनंति.

पान २०८.

॥ श्री ॥

पत्रांक २९३.

१७०९ चैत्र शुद्ध ६.

.....श्रीमंतांचा प्रताप वाढेल, अस्त-उदय होय तो राज्य होईल, थोर थोर मुलक हातांत लागेल. एक जाकर महादजी शिंदे पाटील याणीं जाऊन अंमल

दाखल सर्व केला. गडकिल सुलक घेतला. परंतु आम्हांस दक्षणा न पाठविनी. हालीं कन्येचा विवाह आहे. मि नैव शुद्ध ५, संवत् १८४३.

॥ श्री ॥

पत्रांक ३७६.

तालीक.

राजभी हरीपंत तात्या गोसावी यांसी :—

छ. अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकित महादजी शिंदे दंडवत विनंती उपरी मेथील कुशल जाणोन स्वकीय कुशल लेखन करीत असलें पाहिजे. विशेष, रघुनाथसिंग चौधरी परगणे देवास याजकडे परगणे मजकूरचे चौधरातीचे काम काज सुदामतपासून चालत आहे. याचे भाऊबंद हक्कदस्तूर हिदाप्रमाणें घेत गेले. ऐसैं असतां, कृष्णसिंग पेशजी पुण्यास येऊन आपले परी सरकारांत विनंती करून, हुजरे देवाशाम आणोन दंगा केला. त्यावरी रात्रेश्री सदाशिव दिनकर लष्करांतून गेले. त्याणीं हा मजकूर समजोन देवाशाहून हुजरे माघारे नेले. हें वर्तमान मशागनिलेहनीं सविस्तर सांगितलेंच असलें. रघुनाथसिंग याचा काळ जाहला. त्याचा पुत्र खुमानसिंग हालीं भोगवड्याप्रमाणें वडिवाट करितच आहे. कृष्णसिंग पुन्हा सरकारांत गैरवाका समजावितो म्हणोन ऐकिलें. त्यावरून आपणास लिहिलें आहे. तरी रघुनाथसिंगाची वडिवाट बहुत दिवस चालत आली आहे, त्याप्रमाणें चालवावी. कृष्णसिंग गैरवाका समजावील. त्यास ताकीद जाहली पाहिजे. रा. छ. २ रमजान. बहुत काय लिहिण लोभ किजे हीविनंती. मोतैव अमे. शिका.

The following account about Mahadji Sindia is taken from the Life of Jiwaba Dada Bakshi:—

(१) पाटीलबाबा राणोजीचे अनौंस किंवा दामीपुत्र होत, अमा जो लोकापवाद आहे तो चुकीचा आहे, हें पुढील हकीकतीवरून दिसून येईल. “ बाजीराव बलाळ म्हणजे थोरले बाजीराव यांचा पराक्रमी सरदार राणोजी शिंदे हा उत्तर हिंदुस्थानांत स्वारीस गेला असतां, दनिया संस्थानच्या रजपूत राजांशी त्याची मोठी लढाई झाली. तीत मराठ्यांनीं रजपुताचा मोड केला. तेव्हां रजपूत पुंड पळत आहेत व त्यांच्या पाठीस विजयी मराठे लागले आहेत, असे त्या राजांच्या कन्येने आपल्या महालांतून पाहिलें, आणि आपल्या दासीस सांगितलें कीं, रजपुतांच्या पाठीवर तरवारीचे घाव मारणारे कोण आहेत व त्यांचा पराक्रमी सरदार कोण आहे, ह्याचा शोध करून ये. दामीने शोध करून येऊन सांगितलें कीं, ज्यांनीं रजपुतांस

जिकलें ते मराठे लोक आहेत, व त्यांच्या सरदारांचे नांव राणोजी असं आहे. तें घेऊन ती राजकन्या बोलली, शत्रूम पाठ दाखविणाऱ्या ह्या रजपूतांपैकी कोणास तरी बरण्याचा प्रसंग मला येणार, त्यापैकी ह्या पराक्रमी मराठ्या राणोजीसच बरावे हे बरें. मग ती राजकन्या कोणाम न समजता आपल्या त्या विश्वासू दासीसहवर्तमान राणोजीकडे निघून आली. तिच्या त्याने आपल्या जवळ ठेविले. म्हणजे क्षत्रियाम योग्य अशा गंधर्वविधीने तिचें पाणिग्रहण केलें. हिच्याच पोटी महादजी व तुकोजी हे वीर जन्मले. राणोजी व ती राजकन्या ह्यांचा विवाह वाजत गाजत झाला नाहीं, म्हणून मराठे लोक महादजी शिंघास दासीपुत्र समजतात. मराठे लोक आपणाम क्षत्रिय म्हणवीत असून ते गंधर्वविवाहास विवाह समजत नाहींत, हे त्यांचें मोठेंच अज्ञान आहे, असें म्हटलें पाहिजे. तात्पर्य मराठ्यांचे वीर व रजपूतांचे क्षेत्र यांपासून पाठीळबावा हा तांमांकिन महाराष्ट्र वृक्ष उत्पन्न झाला.” मराठी शालापत्रक पु. क. अ. ४. पृ. २५१२६

इतक्यांत महाराष्ट्राच्या दुर्दैवाने त्या तरुण पेशव्यांवर राज्यक्षमा नामक रोगाने आपल्या अंमल बसवून त्यांचा थेंऊर येथे अंत केला. त्यांनीं मृत्युसमयीं दादा साहेब, नागयणराव साहेब, सखाराम बापू, नाना फडनवीस, हरिपंततात्या फडके, बाबुराव केशव वंगरे सडळीस आपल्या राज्यव्यवस्थेचीं सहा कलमें लिहून दिलीं, तीं येणें प्रमाणें :—

“(१) आमचे मागे नागयणराव साहेब यांनीं राज्यकारभार थेंऊर अथवा सिडटेंकीं राहून करावा. पुण्यास दादासाहेब राहतील. आपण राहूं नये, आणि दादा साहेबांस कैद करूं नये.

(२) विमाजीकृष्ण बिनीवाले यांस हिंदुस्थानचे मोडिमेस पाठविले. त्यांनीं भाऊसाहेबांचे गर्दीच्या बदला रोडिव्यांशीं लढून फत्ते करून ते माघारे पुण्यास येत आहेत. त्यांस मुबणाचीं पुष्पें वाचवून तीन कोस सामोरें जाऊन भेटी घेऊन मगमांत करून पुष्पें उघवीत शहरांत आणावे.

(३) कर्नाटकची मोडीम करून टिपूने पारितत्य करून श्रीरंगपट्टण वंगरे जागा खाली करावी.

(४) सखाराम बापू यांचे हातें राज्य कारभार सर्व धावा. दुसरा कारभारी करूं नये.

(५) गोविंदपंत बुंदेले यांनीं हिंदुस्थानांत सरकारचा नक्षा ठेविला. त्याच प्रमाणें त्यांचे चिरंजीव बाळाजी गोविंद व गंगाधर गोविंद यांनीं ठेविला आहे. त्यास जोवर पेशव्यांचा वंश आहे व गोविंदपंतांचा वंश आहे तोवर त्यांचे सुभ्याची घालमेल करूं नये.

(६) आमचा अंतकाळ झाल्यावर आमची स्त्री सौ० रमाबाई सहगमनाचा विचार निश्चयात्मक करून आहे, त्याम तिजला कोणी स्वकीय परकीय मोहांत घालू नये. जो विचार आहे तोच यथा विभवानुसार समारंभ करून करवावा. त्यांत व्यत्यय न होय. ”

वरील कलमांवरून माधवराव साहेबांचे राज्यकारणपटत्व व गोविंदपंत बुंदेल्यांच्या वंशाविषयीचा अभिमान वांगला व्यक्त होतो.

Parasnis' " Marathyanche Parakrama,"

Pages 169 170.

राजश्री मद्राशिवपंत स्वामीचे सेवेशीं—

“ विनंती उपरी, राजश्री पाटीलबाबांचीं बालणीं विक्षेपाचीं तेथें होतात, त्यांचीं लिहिणीं लोकांच्या घरीं इकडे येतात, तेव्हां इंग्रजांचेही घरीं बातमी जात असेलच. ही गोष्ट मसलतीस वाईट. हे ध्यानांत येतं कीं नाहीं? रत्ती इतकी दरज पडली असतां शत्रूस बळ किती येतं याचा विचार करितात कीं नाहीं? त्यांतही कोठें वांकडें असलं तरी थोर आहेत, ते वांकडें दाखवीत नाहींत. मग येथें तर परस्परं भाऊपणा अकृत्रिम, वांकडें रत्तीमात्र नमतां उगेच कोंतेअदेश माणमाच्या लिहिण्यावरून व सांगितल्यावरून, निःकारण विपरीत अर्थ करून बोलावें हे तर फारच विलग दिसेल, व या गोष्टीपासून उमेदही मरत. अगर बोलण्यानेच संतोष तर एकांतीं तुम्हांस बोलावून नेऊन जे बोलावयाचे असेल तें बोलत जावें. दुसऱ्यास कळू नये असें तरी व्हावें. एवढे मोठे सरदार मसलतीवर गेले, त्यांस जेणेकरून उपयोग त्याच गोष्टी येथें घडत असतां, राजश्री पाटीलबाबांचीं पत्रें व तुमचीं पत्रें येतात त्यांत एक पत्र तरी जाहिराणा दरवारांत सर्वांचे वकील वसले असतां वाचून पढावें आणि शत्रू व बाहेरील आहेत त्यांस एकत्राचा व स्नेहाचा ऐकल्यावर दाब पडावा व इष्ट आहेत त्यांस गोष्ट वाटावें, असें पत्र कधींच येऊन पाडिले नाहीं. जीं पत्रें येतात त्यांत, मनांत कल्पना नाहींत व न यावयाच्या घेऊन व कित्येक रोपे-करून व कित्येक विपरीत अर्थ करून लिहून येतात. तीं एकांतीं वाचारी, त्यांचे पात्रे उत्तरें लिहून तुम्हाकडे पाठवावीं, याखालीच दिवस गेले. पुढे ईश्वरी इच्छा असेल तसें घडेल. होळकांकडील मजकूर पत्रीं लिहितां, परंतु प्रसन्न मसलतीचे दिवस, वाटत लुधारीही फिरतात, एखादी पत्र त्यांकडे गेल्यास मसलतीस अपाय. याकरितां पत्र पाठवावे ते तजविजीने पाठविन जावें. पाटीलबाबांचे पारिपत्य झालें तरी सरकार काम, अशा गोष्टी जेव्हां पाटीलबाबांचे मनांत येऊ लागल्या, त्या

परिहार लिहितां कशा जानील ? ईश्वरच त्यांच्या बुद्धीस साक्ष देईल ती खरी. अशीं विक्षेपाच्या मजकुराचीं पत्रे वाटेच्या गर्दीमुळे डंगळांकडे धरलीं गेलीं असल्यास काय मनांत आणतील याचाही विचार करावा. तुम्हाकडून जागृद पत्र घेऊन आला म्हणजे आर्थी लवोटे फोडण्यापूर्वीं चित्तांत येतें कीं काय नवा विक्षेपाचा ग्रंथ रचिला असेल, मग फोडून पत्रें पहावीं तों तेच निघतें ! बरें आहे, किंताही वाईट वाटावयाजोगें बोललें व लिहिलें तरी आम्हीं चित्तांत वांकडें काडीभर आणणार नाहीं व करणार नाहीं. याम कारण एक तर आम्ही शुद्धबुद्धीनें पाटीलबाबांचे ठायीं चाललों. दुमरे खाव्दाचे कांयवर नजर, मग वाईट कशाम वाटेल ? रा। छ. २४ रविलाखर हे विनंती. ” पृष्ठ १५१-१५२. (नातूकृत महादजी शिंदे.)

पुण्याचे वकील दिनकरराव ह्यांस तिकडील हकीकीचीच एक सविस्तर पत्र लिहिलें. तें वाचल म्हणजे त्या वेळच्या बुंदेलखंडाच्या रिथतीचे चित्र हुबेहुब नेत्रांपुढें उभें राहतें. तें पत्र येणेंप्रमाणें :—

“ चिरंजीव राजश्री दिनकरराव यांस प्रती बाळाजी गोविंद आशीर्वाद, उपरी येथील कुशल ता: छ. १९ सकल यथास्थित जाणून स्वकीय कुशल लिहित जाणें. विशेष. हुजूराम मुजरद कामीद जोडी वरोवर पत्र आलें कीं तुम्ही मामलतीवर गेल्या-पामून सालोमालचा हिशेब दफ्तरीं लागला नाही. याजकरितां तुम्हांस येणें म्हणून एक दोन वेळ लिहिलें अमतां आलां नाही. तरी हल्लीं गंगाधर गोविंद यांस जलदीने पाठवावें म्हणून पत्र आलें, त्यास मरकरी आज्ञास उजूर आहे असा अर्थ नाही. परंतु यंदां शकटें दंगा बहुत आला आहे. धामोणीप्रांतीं धामोणीवाले यांनीं दंगा केला आहे व फिस्तोळ मयामेही चोरी लुपीनें गांव मारतात, गुरेढोरे नेतात. तमाच कनारप्रांतीं गुजर वगैरे यांनींही जागोजाग उपद्रव आरंभिला आहे. गोहदवाल्यांचे धामधुमीमुळे स्वाह्नेरप्रांत खराबीस आला व पुढें तो दावीत चाललाच आहे. थोरले फौजेचें अथ काडीमात्र कोणी बाळगीत नाहीत. याजकरितां आपापले जागेंत सावधपणें राहून बंदोबस्त केला पाहिजे. आम्ही अमल्याचा दाब निराळा आहे. हे मोकले राखून आल्यास सर्व पक्षमरून हुंडी करावयास नुकणार नाहीत. ही लडचण, राजश्री विमाजी कृष्ण यांनाही सालमजकुराचा अन्नमाम व गुडस्तेचे हिशेब घेऊन जलदीनें बोलाविलें आहे. हुजूर न्यावयास आले आहेत. त्यांनीं लष्करांत चलावयाची निकड बहुत केली आहे. तिकडेही न जातां गत्यंतर नाही. गेलेंच पाहिजे. सालमजकुराचे रसदेचा भरणा करून दिला तरी जाण्याचें त्वष्ट लागलेंच आहे. जावें लागेल. याजकरितां लष्करांत जाऊन आल्यानंतर श्रावण आषाढ मार्गी शकडील सर्व बंदोबस्त करून हुजूर येतो, असें मोघम आम्हीं श्रीमंतांस लिहिलें आहे. तुम्हीही सविस्तर समजावून विनंती करणें. वरकड शकडील वर्तमान तरी पातशाहांनीं फरुका-

बांदनजीक नवीगंजावर बहुत दिवस सुकाम करून राहिले होते. त्यास नवाब्यास राजश्री महादजीबाबा शिंदे आले. त्यांनी पातशाहजवळ रोहिले यांचे पारिपत्य करावयाचे वंगरे करारमदार करून त्यास दिल्लीस नेले. राजश्री विमाजीपंत व होळकर पुढे हिंदानदीवर सामोरे येऊन पातशाहास घेऊन दिल्लीस गेले. तखतरूड होऊन हल्ली रोहिल्यांवर जावयाची मसलत ठरवून सर्व अंतर्वेदीत यमुनापार उतरले आहेत. जावोखान सुकतालची मजमुदी करून राहिला आहे. नवाब अहमदखां पठाण बारलियावर त्याचा लेक मुजफरनंग यास नवाबी देऊन आले. जाग्याचा बंदोबस्त करून आहेत. नवाब सुजातदौल बंगाल्यास होते. ते पातशहा नवीगंजाहून कुच करून दिल्लीकडे नेलियावर प्रयाणस गेले. तेथून आपला चेला फिरंगी यांकडे पाठविला. फिरंग्यांनी आपले कडून सुमारे (?) साडेब वंगरे मातबर मददार जमाव सुद्धा पाठविले ते काशीस येऊन दायल झाले आहेत. त्याच्या व नवाबाच्या भेटी नंतर काय मजकूर होईल पहावे. वरकट सर्व आपलाळ जागी अटून आहेत. शिंयांकडून राजश्री बाळारावही नवाब सुजातदौला याजकडे गेले आहेत. या प्रमाणे प्रस्तुत इकडील वर्तमान आहे. पुढे होईल ते लिहून पाठवू. वरकट अलाहिदा पर्वी लिहिले आहे त्याजवरून कळेल. इकडील वरचा व मामलतीचा मजकूर सर्व कच्चा तुम्हांस कळावा म्हणून लिहिला आहे. तुम्हास माहितपारी असली म्हणजे जमा प्रसंग दिसेल तसा तुम्ही जावसाल कराल. वरकट चिंजजीवांनी लष्करांत चिंजकराम जोशी यांचे विद्यमाने राजश्री विमाजीपंताजवळ आपले नावे मामलतीचा विचार करून त्याचा असें सूत्र लावून बोलावित आहेत. तसे तेथे पुजारी लिहितात असे ऐकतां. यात्र करितां तुम्ही या शोधांत राहून तेथे कोणास काय लिहितात, सरकार पावतां लांबवावे, सरकारांत बोलावे, जमने काढी कोणास लिहितात कीं काय ते ध्यानांत ठेवून ठिकाण पाठोव. ठिकाण तें पडे तरी शोधांत असवे, आणि जमने तुम्हाम आढळत जाईल तसे वरचेवर अम्हास लिहित जाणें. बोडमे यदां राजश्री गवनाथराव दरी यांनी घेतले. यात्रकरितां बोडमेवाले अष्टमथ्या मिळोन वुडी केली आहे. आमचे परगण्यास उपद्रव लागतो. हा उपद्रव केवळ आमचे मुलुगजाजवळ आहे. याचा बंदोबस्त आला पाहिजे. जेव्हां अम्हास श्रीमंतांनी यण्याविषयी लिहिले आहे त्यास हें टाकून येतां नामल्याची स्वामी होईल व लष्करांतही जावयाचे यात्रकरितां सर्व तुम्ही श्रीमंतांस निवेदन करणें. सारांश अम्हीं येथील प्रकार तुम्हाम कळावा म्हणून यांत लिहिला आहे. वरकट तुम्हाम तेथे समयाचित जो जावयाम जरा पडेल तसा युक्तायुक्त पाहून करणें. बहुत काय लिहिणें लोभ असां दीजे, हे आशीर्वाद.

टीप:—हे पत्र थोरले माधवरावांच्या कारकीर्दीतले, महादजी शिंयांनी रोहिल्यांचा पराभव करून झाहाआलम बादशहाम गादीवर बसविले, त्या समयींचे आहे. हा पत्रावरून माधवराव साडेवांचा ठिकठिकाणच्या मुंसेदारांवर कसा दाव होता व पुणें दरबाराची राजकारणे कशी चालत असत हे दिसून येतें.

॥ श्री ॥

राजश्री नाटकी याद गोंगावी यास सकळ गुणालक्षण ज्योतीन लक्ष्मी
आलंकृत राजमान्य.

नवेकित साधवरा नमस्वयं प्रयत्न आशीयां यिनी उपरी येवील कशळ
नाणत स्वकीय कुशल लिहोन येवे विशेष, तन्ही खंड १, सफरचे पत्र पाठयिल
ने पावले, हिंदुवानचा बंदोबस्त आम्हांकडे आले. आलीवहादूर आमचे निसवनीस
पाठयिल अमनां, त्यांची रवानगी बंदेलखंडान करणार; तन्हां बंदेलखंड माथ जागा
सरकारी वरकड जगा कोणाची? त्यास आलीवहादूर बंदेलखंडान जाऊन तिकंड
बंदोबस्त करतील, आम्हीं उमवतां सरदार फौजसुद्धां येतां म्हणून लिहिलें तें
कळेल, पेशिदास योगेल कैलासबायी राव यांचा व बंदेल यांचा माऊपगाने संग्रहान
जेवळ सरकार निसवनीसच आले, पुर्वी मन्हारराव बाबा, जयाप्पा यांनीं फौज
प्रयत्न जाऊन बंदेल यांस तेंवी पोर्तुगेजस मानव्य खडणी केली, निजारे मुख्य
सरकाराने घेतला, त्यास शिंदे मुख्यपैकीं एका खेमाची नाशा न भयतां, व
खेमापैकीं एका पेशाचा लोन न करण, उलोवस्त येवणी जेवळ सरकाराने
पाठयिला व मुख्य सरकारच समोरदार याच हजाली केला, हे कर्मान जगारिण्यात
ज्यांस ठाऊक आले, व तन्हे जेकण्यांत आलेच जमेल.

जापमान जातपयंत झिलझिला चालत आला आहे, त्यांनी वांढणी
कोणाम दिशी नाही, फक्त सरकार निसवनीये सरवान हे समजून मन्हारराव बाबा
जयाप्पा यांनीं काटीमात्र अपेक्षा केली नाही; तन्हास समजण्यावर तन्हीही करणा नाही;
कसे आम्हांस वाढी, उज्जन, याचरीष, हे मजाल तमचे सज्जामाचे, येथे
शिंदे व मवाम, यांनीं वामपुस केली अमनां खंडराव हरी यांनीं त्यांचे पारिपत्य
केलें, तेवील उन्हाचे ते अनी नन्हातः सरकाराचे काम केले, इतकेंच त्यांजकडे.
तन्चे पुर्वी सरदारांनीं सरकार काम केले, परंतु पेशास लिपतले झाले नाहींत,
त्यास मागील वरिवाट ठाऊक होनी; त्यामुळे त्यांनीं केले तें ठीकच केले, त्यांचे
करण्यास कोणी दोष लावावा, अशी त्यांनीं बर्णकच केली नाही. तन्हास
समजव्यवर तन्हीही करणार नाही. तमचा आयद नाहीं असे आम्हास
नाट्य, वरकड बंदेलखंडान्या बंदोबस्तास रामचंद्र हरी व हरी विठ्ठल
हे सरकारांतून तीन तीन जाग जाग हजारे फौजा घेऊन हुजूरून जात,
निकटील बंदोबस्त तेच करीत, यअन्वये चिरजीव आलीवहादूर यांची
रवानगी केली म्हणून लिहिलें: त्यांत आल्ल अमनां कडेवर यावे असे काय

आहे. हिंदुस्थानचा बंदोबस्त आम्हांकडे आले म्हणून लिहिले: त्यास, हिंदुस्थान
 नेमं काय ! सर्व दौलतीचा बंदोबस्त आम्हांकडे नाही कशावरून. दाखोणं
 पडला तरी नन्दी काम करू नये का काय ? मोगलांचा आपला विघाट जल
 ते समर्थी कैलासवासी विघाटग्राव यास दत्त बापांनी बरोबर घेतला. आपला
 मातवर लडाईं मारली, पन्नास सार लक्षांचा सुख मरकारांत पोचला. तसेच
 कोळ्यापूरना घेऊन पडला तेव्हां नन्दासच नीस करावे लागेल. मत्तगथना बरोबर
 तमनेच हातून आला. सर्व दौलतीचा अन्वयार तमनेच अन्वयार, विघाट
 कामासाठी आणि बाजूची असतां मन उभाय करावे, ही गोष्ट उचित नाही. प्रकट
 सुद्धा, मोठमोठी संस्थाने, राजे राजाडे, मराठे, क्षत्रप, व मावयाचे, जट, अक्कल
 अनवर्ये, मीरान, लोढीरखंड, लाहोर मुलान पसरला आहे. तमना घोडा बांधला,
 येथपर्यंत सुख आपला नव्ह की काय ? तमनाचा बंदोबस्त करीत म्हटल्यास
 अहंता अर्गी प्रकट गेले असतां, वर्ष दोन वर्षे त्यागीठ. एवढे काम एकीकडे
 ठेवून बुंदेलखंडावरच ममलत पडली आहे, ही गोष्ट उचित नाही. अन्वयार मत्तगथना
 पडला आहे, बुडी कुठित जली आहे: ह्या प्रकारणी बंदी चालवून फल करावे
 हें महात्म तमने बद्धीचे असतां, विघाट कामासाठी मन अन्वयार, ह तमने
 ममलत काम ठीक पडले: असे काम म्हणावे, विघाट विघाट पोडधार ते उचल
 कुर्पी पडला, ही गोष्ट कशी घेतल ? आकाशाचे मान तुम्ही बांधणार, तेथे मिष्ट
 कल्पना येतात हें आश्चर्य वाटते. उभयतां सरदार एकत्र झाले असता, अन्वयार
 कडाडेल, तथापि कोणें गोष्टीचा अडेशा घराचा असा अर्थ नाही. निकटून
 दकडून गंगाप्रवाह चालला आहे, असे जाल्यास इतलीक परलोक उभय काम
 धर्तीपाणी व मेवकपणी कीर्ति दिशांतले सावणार नाही. एक संकल्प विघाट पोडधार
 अन्वयार अशी महत्कले होतात, त्याच गोष्टीत अन्वयार असे असते मत्तग
 आहे. तसेच तमने मत्तग अन्वयार काळोमा कोठेही नाही, पन्नास मुर्ती मत्तग
 कडून शूद्राच आहे, ऐकण्या मोगण्यामुळे फेर पडतो याचा विचार न करी का,
 उभाय नाही, नाही तर सर्व गोष्टी विनाशित आहे. निकटून बंदोबस्त नन्दी करीत
 अर्धी आणि कराळ, ते जागृत बडादर यांची बंदोबस्तां पाठविण्याची कोळ्या
 केरी इतकाच अर्थ. दुसरा विचार कांहीं एक नाही: तपविष्ट मत्तगळे पविष्ट,
 गालान तुम्हां लिहिले असे, दुसरा विचार कांहीं एक नाही. गालान नव्ह पड
 सफर बहुत काय लिहिणें लोभ कीजे हे विनंती.

या पत्राची नकल गंगेश कृष्ण कर्पे, मयजी पत्रसे यांच्याशी सोनी सावरुन ही नव
 केली असे. या पत्राक साल नाही, परंतु मत्तगतीक पत्राचे पत्र २, सन १७८१ साली
 लिहिले असावे असे सांगतात.

From the Daftar of Sardar Keshav Rao Jagannath Dikshit of Shendurni in Khandesh District.

॥ श्री ॥

वेदशास्त्र संपन्न राजश्री बामुंदेव दीक्षित स्वामींचे स्तवर्गी :—

विसावीं वाडाची कर्माणा प्रधान समकार विनति, उमरी येथील, कुशल जाणोन स्वर्गीय लिहिले गेले पाणिज, विशेष, दिक्षीकरील वर्तमान, निरर्जीव राजश्री रघुनाथ राव व होकर वर्गे समार फौजगद दिक्षीत मुख्यरूप पोहोचले. वेदशास्त्र संपन्न महाराज राजश्री बामुंदेव दीक्षितवाडा यांची स्वामी दिलीप आली आहे, त्यांचा वादशाहाचे दरबारांत मान सरातव पूर्वोपर आपले धरण्याचे योग्यते-तुल्य राशायनाची तत्वीत राजाची म्हणून निजामन मुख्य अमफजरी, यांग येथून लिहिले होत, निरर्जीव यांनीही, दोन मुकाम अगोर, दीक्षितांची स्वामी आली आहे म्हणून वादशाहाचे नवना केली होती, त्यावरून योग्य तरदूद जाली, व यावरून नवाव निजामन मुख्य अमफजरींचे पत्र भक्तलेस आले, त्यांत ते लिहितात की, "दीक्षित महाराजांनी दिली शहरांत आपल्याकरितां लवाजम्यासह पेशवास्य जाऊन आपणादक वादशाहाचा मळा लूकून जाला आहे, त्याप्रमाणे वादराजक सन्मानाने शहरांत आणिले, वादराजचे भेटीचे दिवशी, वर लिहिल्याप्रमाणे मोठे सन्मानाने शहरांत आणिले, वादशाहा दरबाराच्यापेठे सागोर येऊन हात धरून ते अनेक वर्षांचे, फार समार ठेविला, वादशाहा दीक्षितांची बोळले की, "राजा शाहूचे जे गज व घोरेले दीक्षित महाराजांचा पूर्वी आशीर्वाद औरंगजेब वादशाहावर जाला असून आपलेच आशीर्वादाने त्या वादशाहाची उर्जीतदशा आहे, आपले वडील पैतृवगप्रमाणे होऊन गेले, तीच योग्यता आपली आहे, वेडां आपण येथे येऊन दीक्षित दिवानेले असली आज कुठार जाली," वर्गे भक्तिपूर्ण भाषणे करून फारच मोठय केला, योगे नारायण दीक्षितमहाराजाप्रमाणे सन्मान ठेविला, नंतर पंधरा हजारांचा गांव जडागी देऊन फरमान करून दिले; व पोषाक, पालवी, सोरबेल नकरी, जवाहीर वर्गे खिटा दिली, नवावांनी लिहिले :—'दीक्षितांस जडागीरच काय ? त्यांचे पुण्य बलवत्तर, त्यांस उभाराची कृता व आपण त्यांचे शिष्य, तेव्हा त्यांस काय कमी आहे ? परंतु रघुनाथीचे कल्याण व आम्ही कृता व लढावे ह्या कारणा दी वरिष्ठित सेवा केरी,' याप्रमाणे पत्र आले, दीक्षित लवकरच काशीस जातील, शरीरे करून श्वास जाईत, काळजी नभावी, वगैरे पत्र येत असावे.

॥ श्री ॥

पोछ. २ रविलावल तिमैन मागीशीपि मुकाम श्री मधुगा.

राजश्री तुतोगी होकर सुभेदार गोसावी यांसी.

छ. सकल गुणालंकरण अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकित बाळाजी जनादन. आशीर्वाद, विनेनी उपरी येवीळ कुशल जाणून स्वकीय कुशल लिहित जावे. विशेष. आपण चेंद्र २६ जिल्हेजें पत्र पाठविलें ते पावळें. बुंदेलखंडचे बंदोबस्ता-करितां राजश्री अलीवहादर यांची खानगी करावी म्हणून, राजश्री महादजी बोवा शिंदे यांस आपण लिहिलें. त्यास पुढीपासून इकडील बंदोबस्त उभयतां सरदारांकडेच आहे. अलीवहादरांस मागीस पाठविले त्यास इकडील बंदोबस्त अद्याप पुढेपेगे होणेच आहे. बुंदेलखंड मात्र जागा सरकारची, आणि वरकड इकडील मुख्य जागा सरकारची नाही असे दिसोन येतें. त्यास बुंदेलखंडांत अलीवहादरांची खानगी करावी असेच समज्यास, ते बुंदेलखंडांत जातील. आम्ही उभयतां श्रीमंतांपासीं येऊन विनेनी करूं. पुढे जमी आशा होईल त्याप्रमाणे वनेणूक घेईल म्हणोन लिहिलें ते सविस्तर कळलें. त्यास श्रीमंत कैलासवासी बाजीराय माहेर यांसी व हिंदुपत राजे यांसी पूर्वी भाईपणा जाला व मुलवान्या वाटण्या जाल्या याची माहितगारी आपणास आहेच. हिंदुस्तानांती बंदोबस्त प्रारणी उभयतां सरदारांस पत्र येतगेलीं, म्हणून त्यास आपण उभयतां सरकारचे मातबर, सरदार दोळतीतील. जी कामे पडत गेलीं, तीं उभयतांस लिहिण्यांत आली आहेत. एक हिंदुस्तानचाच दाखला काढास पाहिजे, परंतु बुंदेलखंडचे वाटणी सरकारांत आली त्यांतील हिस्सा कोणास दिला नाही हे आपणास माहित आहेच, बुंदेलखंडांत अलीवहादर गेले म्हणजे हिंदुस्तानचा बंदोबस्त उभयतांकडून जातो असे नाही. बुंदेलखंड फक्त संस्थान. आपण उभयतां पानशाही बंदोबस्तावर नमूद आहेत त्या अर्थी याचा विषय काय व हे संस्थान निवालास सरकार दिशातील नेवडां तैथीक बंदोबस्तास अलीवहादर गेले असतां वाय काय. आपणास मागील माहितगारी आहेच, त्याअर्थी लिहिल्याअन्वये करावें. देसी येण्याचा प्रकार लिहिला त्यास आशा गोष्टीसाठीं देसी येण्याचें करणार हें चांगलें कीं काय व देसी उभयतां आलां असतां तीकडील बंदोबस्त राहिल न राहिल याचा विचार आपण उभयतांीं करून जाणें तें करावें. खाना चेंद्र २५ मोहोरिम बहुत काय लिहिणें लोम असो दीजे हें विनेनी.

॥ श्री ॥

पोछ. २ रविलावल तिमैन मागीशीपि मुा श्रीमधुगा.

राजश्री अलीवहादर गोसावी यांसी,

छ. सकल गुणालंकरण अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकित बाळाजी जनादन आशीर्वाद विनेनी उपरी येवीळ कुशल जाणून स्वकीय

कुशल लिखित मनें विशन. तुम्ही छ. ७ लिहूनने पत्र पाठविलें तें पावें. राजश्री पाटील बाबांची मर्जी आहे तरीच आहे. राजश्री तहोजी बाबांची मर्जी याणी मेळवून घ्यावी आहे व आम्ही सुभेदाराने घरी गेलों होतो व त्यांकडून नागे गणेश व पाराशरपंत आले होते व आम्हांकडे आयाजी पंत पाठविले होत. जेव्हा घोरण लावून ठेविले आहे. जयपुराचे वकीलाकडे राजश्री पाटील बाबांनी कांहीं पत्र लाविले त्यामुळे तो वकील तुकोजी बाबांचे लग्नांत गेला. त्यास पाटील बाबांनी आणविल्या त्याचा व उत्तर सुभेदाराने केले त्याचा मजकूर लिहीला तो सर्व कळला व पहिलीं पत्रे पाठविली आहेत त्यांची उत्तर आली नाहीत. गोसावी यांचे ते कारण ते पुण्यास नेऊन कावें, यांत इकडे तरेच राहो. सर्व निमावणे अ पळेकडे आहे म्हणून लिहिले ते कळले त्यास पाटीलबाबांची मर्जी गोसावी यांचे कारभारावरून विषडली आहे. त्यास गोसावी शांशीस ठेवावा लवाजिमा हत्ती घोडी वगैरे पाटीलबाबांचे हवाली करावा व महाल ठाण्याच्या मोहचिदक्या सव्या ह्याचे बोलणे तुमचे लागे आहे व त्याणीही ह्या गोष्टीस रुकर दिश आहे त्यास हीच गोष्ट राजश्री शिवाजीपंत बापूडून व कुशाबः-कडून बोलावून ठरावांत आणून कारगार उरकावा ह्याउपर लांबविले अनतां न सेल. ह्याकरितां लिहिल्याप्रमाणे करावें, म्हणजे पाटील बाबांस संतोष वाटेल. तुकोजी बाबांची मर्जी पाटील बाबांनी मेळवून घेतली म्हणून मात्र लिहिल परंतु बोलणी कशी झाली, जाव माल काय काय ठरले हे कांहीं लिहिले नाही तर लिहून पाठवाव. तुम्ही सुभेदाराने गेल्या उत्तर केले व त्यांत कांय घोरण लावून ठेविले तेही बरेच आहे. जयपुरकराकील वकीलाचे काय आले ते लिहून पाठवावे. पूर्वी तुमची पत्रे आली होती त्यांची उत्तर पेशकीन पाठविली आहेत पावलीं अगती. गोसावी पुण्यास आणावयाचे लिहिले ते ठीक नाही. याणे पाटील बाबांस फारच विशम वाटेल, ह्याने करितां याचा मजकूर वर लिहीला आहे याप्रमाणे करून संमत करावा, लांबवू नये. राजश्री तुकोजी होठकर सुभेदार व राजश्री शिवाजीपंत बापू तेथे आहेत यांस चेकून नोट पाडावी. रवाना छ. मोहरीम बहुत काय दिदिंय लोम असो दीजे. ही विनंती.

॥ श्री ॥

पो छ. ५ शावान सन समान समानीन गुण महेश्वर मास वैशाख.
राजश्री अलीबहादर गोसावी यांसी,

छ. सकल गुणांकरुण अखंडित लक्ष्मी अलंकृत राजमान्य स्नेहांकित बाळाजी
जनार्दन आशीर्वाद विनंती उपरी येथील कुशल जाणून स्वकीय कुशल लिखित

जायें विशेष, तुम्ही छ. २९ जमादिलाखरचे पत्र पाठविले ते पावले. आज शहरातून कूच केले दरमजल पांच साता दिवसांत मंडेश्वरास जाऊन पोहचलों. राजश्री पाटील बाबांकडून राजश्री रामजी पाटील जाधव येथे आले तेथे, त्यांची बोळग जाले का पुढे दरमजल जाऊन पोहचलों. पातशहाचे व त्याचे चिरंजीवाचे व औदगीर गोसावी यांचे अशीं तीन पत्रे आलीं त्यांचीं उत्तरे लिहून पाठविलीं. पानशहास अर्जी लिहिली आहे कीं लवकरच येऊन पोहचलों. राजश्री तुमोजी होळकर यांचे पत्र लवकर येण्याविषयीं आले त्यांचे उत्तर लवकरच येतां म्हणून पाठविले आहे. त्याची व आमची भेट होईल त म पुढे कर्तव्य व तेथेच कूच करून पुढे जावयाचे वगैरे बत अमनील ते लिहिण्यांत आले म्हणजे करण्यांत येतील. दिवाण अद्याप आले नाहीत व कांहीं पत्रांचे रात्रिचीं आहेत तीं पोहचलीं नाहीत व स्वर्नाचा बंदोबस्त केला पाहिजे म्हणून विनंती करून लिहिले व मन्विस्तर केलें. त्यास शहरातून कूच केले दरमजल मंडेश्वरास पोहचवारा उत्तम आहे. रामजी पाटील छांभी बोळगे होऊन उत्तरे केलीं तीं ठीकच केलीं व पानशहाकडे लोकांस येऊन पोहचलों म्हणून अर्जी पाठविली व गोसावी यांचे व पातशहाचे पुत्राचे पत्रांचीं उत्तरे पाठविलीं बरे केलें. तुम्ही मंडेश्वरास दुरुक जाले तो तुमोजी होळकरही येऊन पोहचतील. भेटी जाल्यावर लिहून पाठवावे. पुढे करण्याचे व पुढे जप्याचे विचार मन्विस्तर मागाहून लिहिण्यांत येतील. दिवाणाविशीं व पत्राविशीं लिहिले त्यास तेही योजना होत आहे. लवकरच येतील. पयकास ताकीद लवकर जाण्याविषयीं करवरी आहे. येतील. स्वर्नाचा बंदोबस्त जाल्या पाहिजे म्हणून लिहिले त्यास तुम्हांकडे पेशजी पेशत रवाना केल्या त्या स्वर्गास येक माही त्यासत मन्विन्वाचे बेगमीचा पत्र शहर औरंगाबादहून येतील त्याची वरान गंठगीत्यागवांवर पाठविली ती पावरीच असेल. पणून अनेक सालपावेतो बेगमी जाली आहे व स्वर्गास कामाविशीचा वगैरे महालाजिबात येत येतला आहे तो पुढील वर्षीच पडेल. पातशहाचे पत्र तुम्हांस पाठविले म्हणून राखतचें बकील दिल्लीस राजश्री गोविंदराव पुरयोत्तम आहेत त्यांचीं पत्रे लिहिले आहेत त्यास तुम्ही पत्रे येतील त्यांचीं उत्तरे दस्तऐवज न गुंतां व कोटे विनंती न पुढे अशीं देत जावी. खबरा छ. २९ राजन बहुत काय लिहिले कोन अंग्रेजीतें हें विनंती.

The following letter would throw a powerful light on the relations between Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindia :—

॥ श्री ॥

[मीनवली दफतर.]

“ मेवसी आज थारक राखो बह्ताळ कुमकेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना
 पर्यंत कुशल आगाडन छ. २० राजवर्षांत सुकान लाकर नवीक ल्यासोंट प्रांत
 कापूर येथे स्वामीने कोरे करून वर्तमान येवास्थित असे. विशेष :—आपली
 आज्ञा घेऊन निघाली. ते सुखरूप लाकरास पावलों. आपण पत्र श्रीमंत पाटील
 यांनास मिळें होते ते, व तपसीलवार वर्तमान पत्रक प्रकरणीं सांगावयास
 सांगितले होते. ते आद्यप्रमाण पत्र व स्वेमान निवेदन केले, व हल्लींही आपण
 आज्ञापत्र पाठविले त्यांत आज जे, “ तुम्हांस जाति समर्थी पाटील बाबांस तपसीलवार
 वर्तमान सांगावयास सांगितले, त्याची उत्तर होतील ती लिहून पाठविणे न्हणोन
 तुम्हांस सांगितलें होते. त्यास उत्तर पत्र उत्तर जाव्याचें आले नाहीं. यास्तव
 ह्याला मजबूत कारणीत जोडां पत्र देऊन पाठविली आहे. तरी पाटील बाबांनीं
 उत्तर सांगितलीं असतील ती तपसीलवार लिहून पाठवावी ” ते मी आज्ञापत्र आले.
 यावरून वर्तमान सांगितलास पुढेक पुढेक प्रकरणीं पडिलेस तपसीलवार वर्तमान
 सांगितले छेन. त्याची प्रति उत्तर सांगितली : त्याची कळव्यार तपसील :

इयत्त प्रकरणीं मजकूर, “ कुमकेक यावे : व दुयें फरासीस यांत्रिकील
 कुमके आणि त्याच इंधनास विषाद नसावा : व तिसरे मागील इंधनाचे तपन्या
 समलताः त्या प्रकरणीं पत्र लिह्ती प्रकरणांचे वर्तमान सांगितले. त्यांची उत्तरें
 जालीं जे. त्यांचे कुमकेविषयी इंधनाचे वकीलांतवळ बोलून कळकत्यादून पत्रे
 दुयेंवातास व श्रीमंतव्य वकील उरजाच्या जाला आहे. त्यास पत्रे गेली
 आहेत. मजकूरान् जगह ललान्याल वकीलास मागोन सुंबईदून कुमके आणावी ;
 कारण होऊन वाप्रमाण खर्चास यावे : व फरासीसाचे कुमकेविषयी इंधनाचे वकीलांनीं
 कोलेन कळकत्यास लिहावे. परंतु कळकत्यादून फरासीस कुमकस आणावा,
 हें शकत आले नाहीं, व तिसरे समलतीचे प्रकरणीं गुंता वा मजकूर याचीं पत्रें
 पठाजी येऊन उत्तरें गेलींच आहेत. पत्रां उत्तरें जालीं. कळम १.

दवशी याजभायें उठे गेली आहे. यास्तव मजिरे याजविशीं प्रयत्न करून
 जिरा समसत जावयास पाह्ये. मी आहे. याजकरितां इंधनांनीं कुमक करावी.

हे न जात्यास हवशामी लडाईं मुरू जाव्यावर इश्यांनीं हवशांनीं एक क सरजाम पांचवें नये, हेम इश्यांनीं बोलोन पक्कें करावे, ऐसे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे श्रुत केलें, त्याचें उत्तर सांगितलें जे, इश्यांचे वकीलांनीं जेजिरेकर हवशी याचें विसीं दोन तीन वेळां बोलोन इश्यांचे वकीलाकडून कलकत्यास पत्र पाठविलीं तशींल इश्यांचे वकील यांस जिव्हिल आले जे, अठरा टोपी व.ले यांनींल हवशी आहे, पेशवे मांहव यांचा व आसबा तह जाला आहे, त्याप्रमाणे आम्ही दरम्यान बोलून तह करून देई, त्यांचे हवशांचे खेलेल केल्यास पेशवे सहन त्यांनीं कुमक करावयाची येतल, हेम पत्र इश्यांनास कलकत्याहून आले, त्यांनींल मंत्रकर इश्यांचे वकील यांचे सांगितल्या म्हणुने सांगितलें.

कलम १.

मोंसले यांनीं गडेमंडळ यावयास केलें आहे, याचें कारण दिपूचे ममलतीस मुघोत्री यांचा यांनीं जातीनसीं यांचे व गडेमंडळ यावयासीं केलें त्यामध्ये पुढांचे पांच हजार फौजेतसीं चाकरी करावी ऐसा करार केला आहे, मोंसल्यांकडे सरजाम दिव्हा नाही आपले दुसरे सरजामी आहेत, त्याप्रमाणे पांच हजार स्वारांतसीं चाकरी करावी ऐसा करार करून गडेमंडळ दिलें, ऐसे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे श्रुत केलें, त्याचें उत्तर सांगितलें कीं प्रसंग पडल्यास करणें प्राप्त जालें, मोंसले काब्यार प्रसंग पाहून आपले काम करून यावयाचें मागें सरकार कामास निखालस कोणत्या उपयोगीं आले, व पुढें निखालस कोणत्या उपयोगीं पडतील हा भरवसा नाही, तत्राप समय पाहून सबड राखून कारभार केला, बरे आहे, ऐसे उत्तर सांगितलें.

कलम १.

हिंदुस्थानचे ममलतीचा प्रकार एक गेलें ममलत करावी, मोहोअडे मसलतीवर लांब फौजा फांकत्या म्हणजे समयास सारी फौज जवळ असत नाही व हिंदुस्थानचे फौजेवर केवळ त्रिधाम देऊ नये, चौकी पाहायाचा बंदोबस्त असावा, ऐसे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे बोललों, त्याचें उत्तर सांगितलें, जे प्रसंग पडल्यास मागें पुढें पहातां येत नाही, जेव्हां लढाई केली, तेव्हां त्याचें पारिपत्य करणें प्राप्त जालें, न करावे तर नक्ष जातो, व दुसरेही लढाई करू लागतील, यांतच त्याचें पारिपत्य करणें प्राप्त जहाल, व बंदोले यांचे घरांत कलह प्राप्त जहाला, तेव्हां त्यांचा बंदोबस्त करावयासी फौज पाठविणें पडली, व मिकाच्या मोहोअडे फौज पाठविणें आली, जे कारणें ते प्रसंग पाहूनच करणें लागते, हिंदुस्थानी फौज

हजारताहील बाबर न ठेविल्यास वगैरे कोडे जाऊन नाकारास जाऊन, फितुरा फायदा करून बसेल कसू लागतील; व हजारताहील वंग वाटणार नाही, यास्तव फौज व पलटणेसुद्धां ठेवणे प्राप्त झाली. चौथीवा बंदोबस्त आपण लिहून घेवना केली, त्या करून केला आहे. रामगडची नसलत ते मिळीस गेली, फौज व पलटणे व तोफखाना येऊन दाखल जाला. त्रिवंकराव हरी यांमदी पत्रे गेली आहेत. तेही लवकरच येतील. सिकाच तोंडावर नेहमी फौज ठेविली पाहिजे. त्यांस धारदार शिंदे वगैरे दहा बारा हजार फौज व पलटणे दहा पंधरा व कांहीं तोफखाना ऐसे पाणिपताचे पलीकडे नेहमी ठेवली आहेत. ऐसे सांगितले.

कलम १.

त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांच्याने सरदारीचा बंदोबस्त न होय, रोज उठोन बोभाट! पागे व मोनदार वगैरे लांक येऊन सरकारच्या डेप्यापुढे बसवे. तेव्हां रामजी पाटील यांणीं दोन-चार वेळां सांगितलें. त्यावरून रामजी पाटीलांनीं पाटील बाबांस पत्र लिहिले. त्याचें उत्तर रामजी पाटील यांस आले जे, त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांच्याने बंदोबस्त न होय, तर सरकारांतून बंदोबस्त करतील तर करून ऐसे पत्र रामजी पाटीलांस आले, व रामजी पाटील यांनीं खातरजमा घेली. तेव्हां त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांची सरदारी काढून रघुपतराव नारायण यांस सांगितली. पाटीलबाबांचे इतक्याखेरीज केले ऐसा अर्थ नाही. ऐसे आपण सांगितल्याप्रमाणे श्रुत केले. त्याचें उत्तर सांगितलें जे, रामजी पाटील याणीं, चांगोजी कदम यांसी, त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांचा कारभार सांगितल्यास सरदारीचा बंदोबस्त होवेल, म्हणून लिहिलें. त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांची सरदारी काढून रघुपतराव यांजकडे सांगावयासी लिहिलें नाही. दादामाहेब यांच्या व मोरोबादादा यांच्या वगैरे यांचे फितुरांत रघुपतराव मिळाले व कोसो कृष्ण याणें गणेशपंत बेहेरे यांसी दोन तीन वर्षे मसलतीखाली आणिले. पंचवीस तीस लाखपर्यंत स्वारी समर्थ खर्च जाहला. एवढी नुकसानी केली. ऐसे फितुरी उभे करावे ऐसे लिहिलें नाही. व लिहिण्यांत हल्ली वेणार नाही. त्रिवंकराव नारायण यांजकडे अपराध नाही त्या अर्थी त्यांची सरदारी त्यांजकडे सांगोन बंदोबस्त करून खावा. ऐसे उत्तर सांगितले.

कलम २.

टिपूने मसलतीचा मजकूर व बादशाहाकडे वकील गेला आहे त्यास काढून घेवयाचे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे श्रुत केले. त्याचें उत्तर सांगितलें. टिपूची मसलत करून ज्याअर्थी

नगरात ततलें व शहापर वेळगांवपर्यंत फौज आली त्याअर्थी मसलत करून पारिपत्य
करणे प्राप्त जाहलें. व बकील बादशहाकडे आल्या होता, त्यास हजरतःस सांगोन
काढून दिव्हा ऐसे उत्तर सांगितलें.

कलम १.

टिपूचे मसलतीस फौजेच्या बंदोबस्ताचा मजकूर व तरतूद केल्याचे वनेमान
सांगितलें, त्याचे उत्तर केले कीं, मसलत प्राप्त होवेल तेव्हां अंदेशा पाहतां येत नाहीं.
त्या तऱ्हेनें फौजेचा वगैरे बंदोबस्त करून, योजली मसलत सिद्दीस जाय तेच केलें
पाहिजे, आपणही पोक्त विचार केलाच असेल. प्रसंगानुसंग करणें तें केलें पाहिजे,
म्हणोन उत्तर सांगितलें.

कलम १.

दिहीटून मोयैल बॅगें बहुमान परमारें येतात, त्यांना सरकारांत जल्ला होऊन
ज्यास देणें तें सरकारांतून जावीं, परमारें न जावीं, ऐसें असोचें म्हणोन सांगितलें,
त्याचे उत्तर सांगितलें जे, सावंतवाडीकर व सखेल राधोजी आंगरे यांस खेळत
बॅगें बहुमान हजरताकडून घेऊन पाठविला. त्याबरोबर सरकारांत पत्रें लिहिनीं व
त्यामदीं लिहिलीं जे, सरकारांत घेऊन आऊन तेथील आज्ञेनें त्यांनीं म्हणून सांगितलें
असतां त्याणीं परमारें नेलीं, जे होय तें सरकार आज्ञेनेच होईल. म्हणून उत्तर
सांगितलें.

कलम १.

बुंगले यांत्रिक सिम्रः करूं नये, पहिले जेनेत वैजनामवासी खोस रावस हेच
यांचे वेळेस तिसरा दिवसा रोख घेऊन करार केला कीं, परस्पर नाकपत्त्याप्रमाणें
गालावे. याप्रमाणें तहतामा शपथपत्रक जाहला आहे. याबरोबर फौज बोलावून
मसलतीचा समारोप करावा जेमे सांगितल्याप्रमाणें अत केलें. त्याचे उत्तर सांगितलें
न, आम्ही फौज कारणात्येगीत पाठविली नाहीं. आपणामध्ये कलह होऊन आन्हाकडे
बकील समजनी करून घ्यावी याअर्थी आलें. तऱ्हां नातास आणून बंदोबस्त करणें
आला. आपण तें केला तर दुसऱ्याकडे परराज्यांत सेवान लागेल, तऱ्हा गिलत पळेऊ
यात्राकरितां बंदोबस्त करणें आला. त्यास फौज पाठविण पडली. फौजेस खर्च लागेल
तो साता. जेमे बोलण्यांत आणून खंडराव हरी यांस फौज मुक्ता स्थाना केलें.
इमथाना टराव होऊन फौजेच्या खर्चाचा करारमुदर जाला. याप्रमाणें निर्गीतून
आणून लवकर येणें, म्हणून खंडराव हरी यांस पत्र पाठविलीं आहेत. लीकराच येनील.
ऐसें उत्तर सांगितलें.

कलम १.

नवावाकडील मजकूर, गुदस्ता येत आली होती तेव्हां टिपूचे मसलतीच पत्र
आल्यांत करारांत आणिल व गालिमाई आमलाची वेद्यपयत वनेल वेद्यपयत बंदोबस्त

करून घेतला. विशेष मनःपूर्वक नवाब मिह्रा आहेत. ऐसे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे बोलण्यावर यांचे उत्तर केले की, प्रसंग पाहोन प्राप्त आहे. विशेष मनःपूर्वक अनुकूल पक्षेपणे आमच्यास कांही चिंता नाही. नवाब मनेच मनःपूर्वक न सोडित ऐसे न व्हावे, ऐसे उत्तर सांगितले.

कलम १.

फडणीसीचे कारभारचे कामकाज बादशाहाकडील सरकारच्या फडणीसाच्या शतूत कामकाज अथवा, पहिले श्रीमंत कैलासवर्मा मारुवाहेब यांणी दिल्ली दरमगत केली. तेव्हा नारी शेकर कारभारी ठेविले ते सुमयी फडणीसाचे कामकाजावर आम्हाकडील कारकून होता. ऐसे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे बोलले. त्याचे उत्तर केले जे, मारुवाहेब गेले तेव्हा बादशाहा दिल्लीस नव्हते. पुढे सुजादवल्याकडे होते. दिल्ली इतके ठाणे आपले किल्ल्यांत बसविंद, बाकरीचा भाव नवना, हल्ली खासा बादशाहा आहे. त्याचे मुन्सदी दरबारा आहेत. मुन्सदारी होईल त्याचे मुन्सदारीचा कारभार करावा. बरकत दिव्दिण्याची वगैरे कामे ज्यांनी त्याचे करावी. ऐसे बोलत आहे, म्हणोन उत्तर सांगितले.

कलम १.

श्रीमंताने दौलतीबिर्निने राजप्री नाताच आमचे बोलणे जाले आहे. आपण आम्हाकडेन पक्ष आहे. यप्रमाणे राजप्री नाताकडून आम्हाचे म्हणोन सांगितले.

कलम १.

पुढे फडणे कारभारी आमची व सरकारी आपली. ऐसे राजप्री नाताचे आमचे बोलणे जाले आहे. त्याप्रमाणेच आमचे बोलणे आहे म्हणोन सांगितले. कलम १.

राजप्री नाताकडील पक्ष करून घेतली. ती मारी श्रीमंताने नाचे आम्हाची. मन्सदारी पाहिल्यावरचे नाचे आम्हाची. या बोलणे मनःपूर्वक आपण सांगितले. त्याप्रमाणे म्हणता: यजमान साहेबाने नियमन केले. त्याचे उत्तर सांगितले जे, ते आम्ही केले आहे. त्याचे अर्थ मान्यमान आहे. पुढे इतके करून यावयास दिसते किती त्याने कामे केली जाणे. आम्ही जीतादारास श्रम करून कामे करावी. त्याचे उमेद कुठे काहीत जे हे नाचे जाले. तेव्हा लिहून समजावीत जावे वही पडत घेत नाहीत असे. त्याचे निरूपेडत जालां आम्हाची सांगिते जाणते बोलता. बकील-मुन्सदी श्रीमंताने नाचे श्रीमंतकडून व आम्हाकडून मुन्सदारी मुन्सदी म्हणून दसकत बादशाहांनी केले. कान अथ आपणामाचे तऱ्हासी बोलणे जाले त्याअन्वये आहे. नायब-मुनायबीची पक्ष आम्हाचे नाचे दसकत केले. त्यांनी नायब-मुनायबी म्हणजे बकील-मुन्सदीची मुन्सदारी. तेव्हा राजप्री मुन्सदारी म्हणून आली. बकीलगीची पक्ष श्रीमंताने

नवें, त्याचही आमची गुप्तसंगिरी ऐसीच अशी लिहिली आहेच. याच अर्थाने आमचा काय समजत आले असतील तर नको, मजला मागितले जे, तम्हीही समजून घेणे व शिकाबी पाहणे, आणि खातर जमा करून घेणे, ऐस मागितले. पुढे बोलले जे, आजपर्यंत पत्रे येत गेलीं, त्यांचे भाव स्पष्ट समजण्यांत आले नाहींत. परंतु याच भाव हाच दिसणे कीं, हिंदुस्थानी या सर्वांस समजावे कीं यांचे त्यांचे नाई नाहीं. ऐस सर्वांस समजले म्हणजे जितके केलें आहे तितके विरग पडेल. त्यास आम्ही जे केलें ते श्रीमंतांचे आहे. त्यास आमची निष्ठा श्रीमंतांचे पर्यापाशी आहे. त्यापशी श्रीमंतांचे प्रतापे जाले आहे ते व पुढे होईल तेही त्यांचेच प्रतापे होईल. दुसरा कोणी असता तरी त्यास पंच पडोन, केलें तितकें व्यव होऊन, मुख्या खांद्यांस घेऊन गेले असते. आम्ही महान्त केळी व करीतच आहों, हे ईश्वर जाणें, व ईश्वराचे जागां श्रीमंत आहेत ते जाणतील. सर्व आहे ते श्रीमंतांचे आहे. श्रीमंतांपाशी येऊ नेव्हां समस्त विमंती करून सर्व निवेदन केलें याप्रमाणें उत्तर सांगितले.

कलम १.

एकूण चौदा कलमे तपमीलवार सांगितलीं त्यांची उत्तर जालीं तीं सेवेची लिहिली आहेत. याजवरून सर्व समजण्यांत येईल. मद्रहूचीं उत्तर याची ऐस यजमानसदेवांचा भाव आहे. तरी उत्तरें त्याहावयाचीं आज जाली पात्रिजे. सेवेची श्रुत होथ हे विज्ञापना."

इतिहाससंग्रह, पान ८५, नंबर ५७.

इंग्रजांच्या वकिलास दीड लाखांची जहागीर.

महादजी शिंदे ह्यांचे माफत मराठ्यांचा व इंग्रजांचा मालकी येथे ता: १७ मार्च इ. स. १७८२ रोजी जो तह आला, व नंतर आगवी दोन पुरवणी तहनामे ठरले. त्यांचीं बोलणीं करण्यास इंग्रजांच्या वतीन मि. डेव्हिड अंडरमन ह्या नांवांचा वकील आला होता. त्यास महादजी शिंदे ह्यांच्या विद्यमान दीड लक्षाची जहागीर देण्याचे ठरले होते. तह करणाऱ्या वकीलास जहागीर देऊ केल्याची गोष्ट पुढील पत्रावरून कळत येते. मराठ्यांचे इतिहासकार व्यापटन ग्रंथ २४ ह्याच्या इतिहासांत किंवा पणिसनच्या तहनाम्याच्या पुस्तकांत ह्या गोष्टीचा उल्लेख नाही. ह्या दीड लक्षाच्या जहागिरीचे पुढे काय आले, ते समजत नाहीं.

मंगवली दफ्तर

श्री

ता. ३ मार्च, ई. स. १८८५

करीबी ८, १८८५. मम दिलाने मने स्वयं समानीत येव.

“ श्रीमंत राजश्री पंतप्रधान स्वामींचे सेवेसीः—

बिनंति येवक बाळाजी गोविंद कुतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना ता. चंद्र २१ र. कर मुकाम काळीरी स्वामींचे कुरावलीकेंत करून सेवकाचे वर्तमान यथास्थित असे. विजेप, आशापत्र सादर जाईल तेथे आज्ञा की, इंधनांचा तह जाहला ते समर्थ, राजश्री महादजी शिंदे यांचे वियमाने इंधनांचे वकिलास दीड लक्षाची जहागीर व्यवस्था करार जाहला. त्यास, इंधनेत इंधन यामी एक लक्षाची जहागीर व्यवस्था त्यास हमीरपर पवारांकडील तन्वद हजार अर्प्यांचे कमान आकारास लावून दिवेंद. त्याची सनद पवारांस सादर जाहली. बाकी भरनीस दहा हजार रु.चे गांव कमान आकाराचे त्याचे काळीरीपैकी हमीरपुरास लगते समून देण, व पन्नास हजारांचे गांवच्या दोन सनदा त्याचे काळीरीपैकी हमीरपुरास लगते कमान आकाराचे लिहून देण. एकूण तीन सनदा रा. महादजी शिंदे यांकडे पाठविण्या आहत. ते तत्काळ पाठवितील, बा-
प्रमाणे साठ हजारांचे गांव हमीरपुरास लगते लावून देण. हमीरपर इंधनांस पवारांकडून देविल, त्यांचे मोवदला सरंजाम लावून दिला पाहिजे. तरी मोहब्बाची गांवगना कमाल जमा लिहून पाठविण, म्हणोन आज्ञा. त्यास येविषयीचे वर्तमान राठ केसो शेकर यामी लिहिल जाई. बिनंति करील. सेवमी श्रत होय विज्ञापना.”

“ The advantages were, however, so obvious that the old scruple against the Gardis soon vanished away, and in the new armies, created by Mahadji Sindia in Hindustan, trained battalions of foreign mercenaries, officered by Europeans, outnumbered the old Cavalry, which was permitted to occupy only a secondary place. The success, which attended this effort, induced Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, and lastly the Peshwas themselves, to engage foreign mercenaries and to rely chiefly on their support. Arabs, Gosaweas, Sheikhs, and Portuguese battalions were thus formed and Baji Rao II himself engaged two battalions, officered by English adventurers, towards the close of the century.

“Even the Hill forts, which had been hitherto guarded by Mavalees, were placed in charge of these mercenaries. The Infantry and Cavalry elements in the native armies were thus elbowed out of their importance, and the army, instead of being national, became mercenary in the worst sense of the word. Attached to the regular armies, there was a licensed host of freebooters, called *Pendharees*, who accompanied them, and made a living by pillage of the enemy, and ultimately of their own people. If the innovation of employing trained battalions had been accompanied by the acquisition of the requisite knowledge of military strategy and the scientific processes necessary to command success in the use and manufacture of superior arms, the helplessness, which, in the absence of such knowledge, generally paralyzed the native armies, when their European officers left them, might have been avoided, but no care seems to have been bestowed in this direction, so that, when the actual crisis came and the European officers left them, they were more helpless than ever on the field. In the meanwhile, the martial instincts of the neglected Infantry and Cavalry forces underwent a change for the worse, so that when General Wellesley and Lord Lake broke down the strength of the battalions opposed to them, there was no power left in the country which could resist the conquest that followed as a matter of course. The old Infantry and Cavalry had lost their stamina, and the new mercenaries, without leaders and without any knowledge of Military science except the drill,

were as infective as the Pundharces who accompanied them. It was this change which paralyzed the nation towards the end of the last century." Page 10, Justice Ranade's Introduction to the Diaries.

इतिहाससंग्रह पान ९२, नंबर ६३.

१७७८-७९. साठवा प्रांत हिंदुस्थानचा वसुल्याचा अजमास.

संज्ञक त्यास 'वेरीज' किंवा अंदाजपत्रक म्हणतात, त्यामासच्या पेशव्याचा सर्व प्रांताच्या वसुल्याचा प्रतिवर्षी एक खर्च तयार होत असे. त्यास अजमास असे म्हणत. अजमास आणि अंदाज हे शब्द एकाने अर्थी आलेत. इ. स. १७७८-७९ साली उत्तर हिंदुस्थानातील मराठ्यांच्या ताब्यांतील मलाखांच्या वसूल केली होत त्याचा एक खर्च आमच्या एका लिप्यांनी दिल्या आहे. त्यापैकी पुढील उतारा येथे देतो :— [किरकोळ].

“अजमास महाल हिंदुस्थान राजर्षी पंत प्रधान गुप्त सन निमा मेघिन मया व अलक :

वेरीज.

३८३४००२॥	प्रांत भायला.
३२७९७७१	तालुके झांशी.
९२०५७६॥	सरकार ग्वाल्हेर.
९६२४१	संस्थान नरवर.
३६६७८२९	प्रांत बुंदेलखंड.
१६७७३८	प्रांत मुंदी.
७९७८०८॥	प्रांत अहिरवाडा.
१५१०००	संस्थान अंदाज.
४७७०००	प्रांत बंगलोर.
१००४५१	प्रांत केचीवाडा.
६६७४६६०॥	प्रांत अंतरवेद.
४१०००००	स्वारीचे जमेची वाटणी.

२४२०५१५८००॥

आपले पत्राच्याच्या हिंदुस्थानप्रांताच्या वसुल्याचा अजमास इ. स. १७७८-७९ मध्ये केली होता, त्याचा अंदाज करतो.

Extracts from Mr. Justice Ranade's Introduction to the Satara Raja's and the Peshwa's Diaries.

" A Maratha named Putoji Bandgar, who had been made a captive by the Moghals, and forcibly converted to Mohomedanism, rejoined the forces of Balaji Vishvanath, on their way back to Delhi, after staying with the Mohomedans for a year, and at his request, his re-admission, with the consent of the caste, was sanctioned by Raja Shahu. A Konkarnasth Brahman, Surnamed Raste, who had been kept a State prisoner by Haider in his armies, and had been suspected to have conformed to Mohomedan ways of living for his safety, was similarly admitted into caste with the approval of the Brahmans and under sanction from the State.

The prosperity of Poona attracted a large number of people to come and settle there of their own accord, so that Poona, which was before 1718 only a small Kasba town, developed into the proportions of a city, which it now exhibits in its 16 suburbs or Peiths, all of them established by private citizens under State patronage, and named after the principal Sardars or of the members of the Peshwa family.

In regard to temperance, it may be noted that the Brahman Government of Poona absolutely prohibited the manufacture and sale of liquors as a general principle of action, but it was practiced enough to make exceptions, when local necessities were pleaded by Bhandaries, Kolis and other communities in the territories conquered from the Portuguese

in Bassien, Chowk, and other places. Exception was made in favour of these men, and the lower castes generally, but the order provided that Brahmins, Parbhus, and Government officers generally were to be strictly prohibited from the use of drink, and very heavy penalties were exacted from the offender who broke the law.

A rich Maratha Patel in the Khed Taluka was warned once against the danger incurred by reason of his intemperate habits, and when this warning proved ineffective, half of his Inam land, measuring one Chahur, was confiscated by way of punishment.

It is also well-known that on Sadashiv Rao Bhau's disappearance on the battle field of Panipat his wife Parwati Bai, who survived him, was allowed to retain all the insignia of widowhood, till the day of her death which took place in 1783, twenty-one years after the disappearance of her husband, and the funeral rites of both the husband and wife were performed together on her death.

In the matter of intermarriage, Balaji Bajirao set the example by himself marrying the daughter of a Deshastha Sowkar, named Wakhare, in 1760.

The Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of the Peshwas compares favourably with that of the best Hindu or Mohomedan rulers of the times.

—Page 130.

The Peshwas in Shahu's time issued orders prohibiting alliances by way of marriages between

second cousins, that is, the children of brothers and sisters, which practice seems then to have been in vogue in Konkan, and is continued to this day in many castes. The point to be regarded in all these instances is not to be estimated by the actual success achieved, but by the fact that these native rulers interested themselves in these matters, and showed considerable liberality in the orders issued by them to correct existing social evils.—Page 129.

These brief notices of the social regulations attempted under the Maratha rulers with a view to promote the admission of converts, the practice of intermarriage, the prohibition of the sale of girls, the enforcement of temperance, their policy in permitting a second gift of girls in formally married or engaged by force or fraud, the claim made by them to control the action of the castes and their independence, and the enforcement of equality in the treatment of different castes; all these afford clear indications that social reform was not a subject about which the Maratha and Brahman rulers were indifferent. They strengthen the view which the late Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang first advocated in his 'Gleaning from the Bakhars,' that in this respect these rulers showed greater moral courage and liberality of sentiment than what people are at present disposed to give them credit for, and that the advantages of English education may well be regarded as too dearly purchased, if our people, in this respect, show a more retrograde tendency or greater weakness of the moral fibre than commended itself to our ancestors only a hundred years ago.—Pages 29-30.

The State was more liberal in the rewards it gave in the case of soldiers who lost their lives on the battle-field. In making these awards, no distinction was made between the Brahmans and Marathas, or Hindus and Mohomedans"—Page 23.

APPENDIX.

If the reader wishes to know more about the details of the dark designs against the kingdom of Tipu Sultan, he should read the *Calcutta Review* for July 1857 and the observations of Dr. Thomas Smith, who clearly points out how Lord Mornington, the Governor-General, perpetrated the worst jobbery by appointing his brother, Colonel Wellesley, to the post of Governor of Mysore by superseding the superior claim of Sir David Baird. Lord Mornington is severely criticized for his crooked policy in appointing a commission for the purpose of encouraging the tributaries, principal officers, and other subjects of Tipu Sultan to throw off the authority of that prince. On this point the pertinent, though trenchant, remarks of "Maratha" in an article in the issue of the "Modern Review" for November, 1920, deserve perusal:—

"But it is not remembered by these writers that the business of the Commission mainly consisted in corrupting, bribing, and coercing the adherents of Tipu Sultan into submission. Sir David Baird was a gallant soldier; a straightforward, though probably a blunt and brusque man. He could not have approved of or carried out the crooked policy of the Governor-

General. What wonder if the Commissioners appointed for the settlement of the Mysore Territory, extended their field of work into the dominions of the Peshwa bordering on Mysore. The very fact of the rising of the Southern Jagirdars would point to the Members of that Commission probably having a hand in encouraging these disturbances."

"There are reasons to suspect that the distractions which had taken place in the dominions of Sindia, even in the time of Mahadji, and that the feuds between Holkar and Sindia, were brought about by the exertions of successive Governors from the time of Sir John Macpherson."—*Modern Review* for November, 1920.

The following appears in Lord Mornington's letter to Sir Alured Clarke:—"If hostilities should commence, you will use every endeavour to excite the Rajputs and other tributaries against Sindia, and to induce the Rajas of Jaynagar and Jodhpore to enter zealously into the war; you will at the same time take proper steps for supporting and encouraging the exertions of the partizans of the Bhyes (Bais) and Lukwaji Dada, together with all persons in the family or service of Sindia, who may be disaffected to his Government."

"By the death of Mahadji Sindia the Marathas lost their ablest warrior and their most farseeing statesman. In his life he had had two main objects: the one to found a kingdom, the other to prepare for

the contest for the empire with the English. In both, it may be said, he succeeded. The kingdom he founded still lives, and if the army which he formed on the European model was annihilated eight years after his demise by Lake and Wellesley, it had in the interval felt the loss of his guiding hand, as on the field it missed his inspiring presence. Had he lived, Sindia would not have had to meet Lake and Wellesley alone; Mahadji would have brought under one standard—though in different parts in India—the horsemen and the French contingent of Tipu, the powerful artillery of the Nizam, the whole force of the Rajputs, and every spear which Maratha influence could have collected from Poona, from Indur, from Baroda, and from Nagpur. The final result might not have been altered, but it would still have hung longer in the balance, and at least the great problem of a contest between an united India and the English would have been fairly fought out. As it was, his death settled it. Thenceforth a sinister result became a question only of time."

Colonel Melleeson's "Native States of India,"
Page 145.

APPENDIX.

लेखांक १६, पान ८६, इतिहाससंग्रह.

हे पत्र फार महत्वाचे व मनोरंजक आहे. ह्या पत्रामध्ये कलकत्याच्या कौन्सिलची स्थिती, लार्ड कान्थाळिम माहेबांचे आगमन (तारीख १२ सप्टेंबर इ. स. १७८६), त्यांचा सत्कार, त्यांची वनीतपद्धति, त्यांचा स्वभाव वगैरेची माहिती दिली आहे. हे पत्र फार मूल्यवान असून त्यांत लार्ड कान्थाळिम ह्यांच्या आगमनाच्या वेळच्या कलकत्याच्या स्थितीचे अत्युत्तम चित्र काढलेले आहे.

तारीख २ नव्हतेबर १७८६,

पौष वद्य १० मंदवार, बराबर चौकडा काशीस सरकार.

“ श्रीमंत राजश्री नानासाहेब स्वामींचे सेवेशीं—

आतां किंज चरणराज सेवकगाम व त्रिमणलाल साष्टांग दंडवत वितंती, रुपरि येथील कुशल नागाश्च आखिन शुद्ध १० चंद्र ७ त्रिकेन पावतां असे, महाराजांनीं कृपा करून आपली कुशल आनंदवैभव लेखन आज्ञा केली पाहिजे. सांप्रतकाळीं सरकारचा चौकडा खलिता जाव व इनायतनामा येऊन बदासीचे मुकामिहून रवाना जाइला, ते उत्तम समयीं पोहोचून सेवकासी सरपत्तगज केले, त्याज वरून मज वतमान तेथील कळीं आले, ते खलिता बडेसाहेबांसीं गुजरानिले. तेव्हां बडेसाहेबांसीं... बोलावून तिकडील फौजेचे व लढाईचे वतमान पुसले. मज सेवकांनीं सांगितले कीं, टिपमिया कांहीं सरकारचे फौजेसमोर येऊन युद्धासी मिळ होत नाही. सरकार तर्केंने श्रीमंत नानासाहेब व हरिपंततात्या साहेब आहेत. याज बरोबर गुजरान वगैरे मिळून ऐशीं नव्वद हजार स्वार आहे व तोकखान्यानीं पन्नास साठ जख धोरली आणि पौणेश पर्यंत लढान जख आहेत. खाशियाय तुकोजीराव होकर व मुणोजी व नबाब निनाम अलीखान बदादूर आपले फौजेनिशीं हाजर आहेत. फौज भारी आहे. याज करितां टिपमिया पुढे येऊन युद्धाशीं उभे राहत नाही. आणि येथून लडिले गेले होते कीं आम्हांसीं दोस्ती राहणे, श्रीमंत साहेबांचे सरकारसीं व कंपनीचे सरकारसीं मनजूर आहे. याज करितां हिंदुस्थानप्रांतीं कोणाचा उपद्रव होऊं देणार नाही. महादजीराव सिंदे दक्षिणेसीं सरकार कामावर गेल्यासी कांहीं चिंता नाही. याचे उत्तरीं असे आले

की, महादजीराव शिंदे हिंदुस्थानांत आहूत, हेही नरवामावरीच आहेत: आणि येथे कांहीं फौजेची कमी नाही. कंपनीची दोन्ही करितां नबाब निजाम अलीखानचे विषयाने रांच पळवणा आणविल्या आहेत, असे सालकाब जाले. याजपर्वी काशीद जोडी एक आहुरदार बरोबर येथील सविस्तर वसमान व चि, निमगळालेचे निगोपांचे वतमान लिहून व स्वलिंन बडेसाहेबांचे हिंदवी तकांमहीन पत्र ४ सुवाली महाराजांचे सेवेशी पाठविले: ते पोहोचत येथील सविस्तर वसमान निवेदन जाले असेल. त्यांत हे मतकार लिहिले होते कीं, येथे चार माहेव मिळून कारबार करीत आहेत. ह्या चौथांमध्ये परगणे चित्त शुद्ध नाही. हे वतमान त्यांत तपसीलवार लिहिले, आणि कनेल साहेबांचे सांगितल्याप्रमाणे आज केले कीं, लाह कानेवालीस साहेब येथील सवनेर घेऊन येतात, ते मंदिर, जेसी घेऊन पोहोचले, येथे लवकरच येतील. याजकरितां येथील सर्व कामकाज दग्यारने बंद आहेत आणि दरवार ही बंद आहे. मंदिराजवळ कानेवालीस साहेबांनी येथील कारभारी यासी लिहून पाठविले कीं, जनेल मुलवार साहेब फौजेचे कारबार करितात, त्यांनी कसे नये, आणि कौंललांत नये नये, म्हणून येथील निमके इंग्रज मानवर मुलकी माली कामावरीं होत, ते नयाभीन जाले आहेत, अद्यापि कलकत्यासी आले नाहीत. पुर्वीच एक कौंमली नगीर गेल, यांनी बादशादाचे पुत्रांत काय हुकूम आणिले आहे हे कळत नाही. कोणाकोणाशी ठेवील अवयवा न ठेवील म्हणून फार दुश्चित आहेत. पत्र १० जाहे जिल्लादी खबर आली कीं, लाह कानेवालीस साहेब मद्राजवळ आली सडे आले; लवकरच येतात. याजकरितां येथून मिसरा इष्टबिले साहेब व इस्ट्रा साहेब असे दोन कौंमली व कनेल मेगपारमन साहेब व पामर साहेब वगैरे येथील मातवर अंग्रेज पुढे नावांवर बसून आणावयासी समुद्रापर्वत गेले. येथील बंगाली लोकांची रीत आहे कीं, जे कोणी इंग्रज विद्यापतेतून मातवर माणूस आले तरी, त्यासी आणावयासी येथून कांहीं जबाब्याचे वगैरे सरंजाम घेऊन पुढे जातात. मग ते इंग्रज ज्यापासून कांहीं जबाबाचे अथवा आणखी कांहीं घेतले म्हणजे तेच बंगाली त्याची दिवाणी करितो, असा शिक्का आहे. याजकरितां येथून बहुत बंगाली लोकांनी पाचशे नावांपर्वत घेऊन गेले. त्यांतपैकी कांहीं नावांत माणसे वगृत गेले, आणि कांहीं नावांत येथील मेवा व तखलुलशक व कांहीं अन्नपदार्थ व कांहीं नावांचे केडीचीं झाडे व नारंगी व लिंबूचीं झाडे, वगैरे बारदार झाडे लावन, बाग सिद्ध करून घेऊन गेले होते. ते समुद्रापर्वत गेले, परंतु लाह कानेवालीस साहेबांन सारे लोकांची भेट न घेतां, व वर्तमान न कळवितां. फार खोने, पत्र १८ माहे जिल्लादी

संगठनकारी येऊन, कलकत्याचे किल्ल्यात दाखल जहाल, आणि तोंका सलामीच्या जाव्या, ते समर्थी येथील भेगफारसन बटगाड्यांनी वर्तमान करले की, कार्नावालीस साहेब किल्ल्यांत दाखल जाले. भग आषाढ व इस्टविल साहेब व इस्टर साहेब व येथील सर्व मातबर अंग्रेज व हिंदुस्तानी व बंगाली लोक मिळून मेदीस गेले. कार्नावालीस साहेबांनी कोणाची भेट घेतली नाही. फक्त भेगफारसन साहेब दोन्ही कौमळींनी किल्ल्यांत भेटले. आणि स्वार होऊन शहराची पंचलीमध्य येऊन दाखल जाले. पांच आसामी मातबर अंग्रेजांनी भेटले. आणि भेगफारसन साहेबाने राजा गोविंदराम वनीरावकील वकील व मेवकासी व निरंजीव निमनलाल व विश्वमय्य भोंयले कडील. भगवाराव मठाजीराव शिंदेकडील वकील असे पांच आसामी यांनी बोलावन वरचेवरी नद करून देविली. तांहीं नेऊन गेले नाही. वकील समस्त लोकणी तब दिष्टे की, आज कोणाची भेट दाखल नाही. मग सार लोक न ते पांच दिवस गेले. येथून उदयच व बंगाली लोक पुढे आगावयाची गेले होत, ते सागरा देगे होत नार निघण्या प्रत्येक करणी जाले. मग लंडी कार्नावालीस जावदान ते नेऊन येऊन सारे मातबर लोकांनी समुक्त पाठविले की, इंग्रजांनी बोलाविल्यांतून कोणी येत नसे. आज वरचेवरी विषयानुसार करून राजा राजा एक आंग्रेज मुनख होऊन आला जाले. आणि आलासय नार पांच अंग्रेज आसामी आंदरे. यांनीही एक करून रासत सारे इंग्रजांनी ज्ञानमान करितो. आणि ज्ञानवाणी वरचे वरगाड्यांनी दपिणे आणि..... मध्ये आंग्रेज पुरिले पामन मुनजीगिरीचे कामावर आहेत; त्याचे वरगाडी व वंडलेंडांनी विद्यावचनाचे प्राण होत आहे. याचे करिता आमी जलक वर ममता आहे. सार विषयांनी वकीलानी नेत व जलाल यावन विषयाने उदरले. चेड २१ तिलकाई उद्योग सारंगचे विषयाने. जितके अंग्रेज निघाई इंग्रजांनी भेट नाही. चेड २२ नेजी मामलतदार व समस्त आंग्रेजांनी भेट भेगफारसन साहेबाने मार्फतीने जाली. चेड २३ नेजी आवने वरिळांनी ने..... मध्ये सुखीने विषयाने जाली. नेजीने समर्थी नेजी पुन केडी की, कोणाचे नेजीने वतमान कोणासी करले नाही. पण परस्परे वतमान करले की, राजा गोविंदराम वनीरावकील वकील व मेवकासी व निरंजीव निमनलाल व विश्वमय्य भोंयले कडील व भगवाराव मठाजीराव शिंदेकडील. यांनी उने राजत भेटले. आणि कोणाची वने राजत भेटले नाही. वतमान भेटले. येथल्या नेजीने समर्थी होत पावले पु. चेड २४ भेटले व वीकीय दपविले. आणि ज्ञान..... साहेबांचे व स्वामाने कुशलने

वर्तमान पुमेल, आणि बोलिले की, तुम्हांकडील सरदारी हिंदुस्तानांत व दक्षिणेक
फार मानवर व कंपनीसी दोस्ती बहुत. आम्हांसी हेच मेजर आहे की, तुमचे
सरकारसी व कंपनीसी परे बितापासुन दोस्ती असल्यासी बहुत उत्तम आहे. आणि
तुम्हांकडील सर्व मजकूर दोस्तीचे आहेत. ते मेगफरसन साहेबांचे आम्हांसी समस्त
समजाऊन सांगितले. तम्हीं आपले घनीवासी आमचे दोस्तीचे मजकूर लिहून पाठविले.
मग मेवकांनी सांगितले की, आमचे घनीवासी हेच मंत्री आहे की, परंपरे दोस्ता
राहिल्याने फार उत्तम आहे. दोस्ती न राहिल्यासी बहुत खेळेल उभे राहतील. हिस्से
साहेबांचे आमचे सरकारसी नि हागण विषाड केले. यांत कंपनीचा खजाना बहुत खर्च
जाते व आमचे सरकारांतही खर्च बहुत पडेल. अशी जे वर्तमान जाले ते आपल्याशी
विलायतमध्ये मेवकांचे आलेच असले. मग बंदसाहेबांचे उत्तर केले की, आम्हासी
हुसूरहून याच कनिष्ठ पाठविले आहे की, दक्षिण व हिंदुस्तानमध्ये पेशवासाहेबांची
सरकार व नवाब निजम अलीबाद इ दोन्ही सरकार मानवर आहेत. यासी व
कंपनीसी परे दोस्ती राहिल. जे कामकाज करीत ते समस्त करणें, अशीच आज्ञा
आहे. मग मेवकांनी जवाबाने देऊन खाली केले. त्या दिवसापासून कांही दरबार
जाते नाहीं. येथे काढलाने घर जाऊन येणे सोडवून घेतला कागदावर इलाखरनामा
लिहून लावले आहे. यांत हे मेवकां लिहिले होते की, लोखे कानवालीस साहेब
बंगालचा गवर्नर व इ. इ. लोक विलकास पासून जावे. आणि मेगफरसन साहेब
तुमचे दोस्ती व दयावाळ साहेब तिचे दोस्ती. व हागण साहेब यांचे दोस्ती करून जावे
आहेत. ते लिहिले व इ. इ. लिहिली आहेत. मग बंद २१ पासून कोठांनी ये
थेले लाविले. बंद २२ वसन दरबार नव जाते. सारा दिवसांनंतर लग्न यथील सोली
व मुल्की कामकाज पाडतात. अथवा मेगफरसन साहेब व कारनेल रास व आपली एक
दोन अथवा कारना पायकीने प्रवेश राहतात. तुमचे कोणी जेवून येऊन नाहीं. आणि
रात्री आपणच कारनेल रास व एक दोन अथवा मित्र पायीत. मजाल न नेता.
येथून तिथी दोन कोमपयत आहे. तेथवर जातात. अथवा राहतात अर्धरात्री पावेतो
भिरतात. याचा भय समस्त अथवा व बंगाली यांजवर फार पडेल आहे. व माणूस
मानवर. याचे कळ वर्तमान मेगफरसन साहेबांचे स्वित्सेरी हिंदवी तहकळ करून
विजमनेची पाठविली आहे. त्याचबरोबर सेवसी विहित होईल आणि विलायतमध्ये
याचे पांच कोष्ट मध्ये कंपनीमध्ये सौदागिरीत आहेत. असे वर्तमान समजेल. वय पत्तास
वर्षीपर्यंत आहे. आणि उजवीकडील नेच वाकड्या, व शरीर टेंगणे व नग्न अथ,
व ब्रीदणे फार नष्टनीचे व प्रकृति तामसी आहे. प्रारंभ कसा आहे हेच जाणे

समज्ज्याशी अर्ज केला जाईल. आणि यांचे नांवाचा कांहीं पुरता शोध लागत नाही. कर्नेल मेगफरसन साहेबाने लिहून दिले की यांचे नांव लार्ड कार्नवालिस माहेर आहे. आणि मेगफरसन साहेबांचे पत्रांत लारिड आनरिबल आरल कार्नवालिस असे नांव लिहिले आहे. आणि शिवरामाचे कांहीं मित्रच नांव आहे. तहकीक करून अर्ज केली जाईल. कर्नेल मेगफरसन साहेब कामागून निघाले. करंनली मात्र आहे. मागे ऐकण्यांत आले होते की, याज बरोबर इंग्रज गोरे हजार आसामीपर्यंत येतात. त्याशी यांचे बरोबर कांहीं इंग्रज आले नाहीत. आतां ही बात आहे की, मागे पांच सहा जहाज येतात. त्यांचे ही वर्तमान समजून अर्ज केला जाईल. सरकारचे आज्ञापत्रामध्ये लिहिले होते की, तुम्हीं नेवेच रहाणे आणि चिमणलाल्यासी पाठवून देणे. त्यासी, मागे मेगफरसन साहेबाने सांगितले की पेशवा साहेबाकरितां हत्तीचे बंधे व घोडे लहान टांगण पाठवावयाचे आहेत. त्यांपैकी टांगण आठ आहेत. हत्तीचे बंधे साययाचे आहेत आले म्हणजे खयसा करिों ने आजपावेतो हत्तीचे बंधे आले नाहीत. ऐसे पर्वी मेक्सी अर्ज केली होती. इतक्यांत स्वर आली की, दुसरा गव्हर्नर होऊन येतो. मग बोलें लागले की, गव्हर्नर आल्यावर त्याची भेट घेऊन जाण, त्यामही आल्यापासून दरबार होत नाही. मेगफरसन साहेब म्हणतात, दरबारचे बंदोबस्त जाले म्हणजे हजरत करून देविता. कांहीं चिंता न करणे. थिरजीव गुलावराय महाराजांचे जगणाजवळ आहे. स्वामी धनी समर्थ. ईश्वरानुग्रह मायबाप अहोत. बहुत काय लिहिणे हे विनंती व विज्ञापना.”

APPENDIX.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Kincaid's Letter.

Judicial Commissioner's House,
Karachi (Sind.)

9th November, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. BURWAY,

It was very kind of you to write to me your letter of the twenty-sixth ultimo. I should have replied to it sooner, but I was waiting for the arrival of your book "Ranoji Sindia." It has only just come. I do not know why it took so much longer to come than the letter. It seems to have been delayed in Nasik. However it has come and I am extremely obliged to you for sending it to me. I have long wanted to get information about the origin of the house of Sindia and now I have got it owing to your kindness.

It was very kind of you to refer to certain remarks of mine in the Legislative Council. I am very anxious that justice should be done to your gallant nation. It is most unfortunate that every historian should have followed Grant Duff blindly with the result that all Englishmen are brought up to think that Marathas are notoriously treacherous. However if future historians follow Mr. Parasnis and myself as blindly as the old ones followed Grant Duff, then this ill-founded calumny will disappear gradually.

With all kind regards and many thanks for your book.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. A. KINCAID.

APPENDIX.

In the 24th Volume of the "Bharat Itihas-Sanshodhak-Mandala," of Poona, there is an interesting article from the pen of Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Apte, dealing with the "First four years of Mahadji Sindia's Regime" in Delhi. We give some extracts from the article—

या वैजयी ह्येति व्रतन करिनां गोविंदराज लिखिते, जिह्वे हिङ्गवान् मोंगलिये व राजे जयपुरकर व जेतपुरकर, या राजाचे मन्त्रणे की, राजेश्री पाटिलबाबूस अवघे एकाच होऊन, वनमलपार करून आये, व निदान वनवास व मऊ लागल्यास स्वल्हेर प्रांतदलील खाली करून याया, ऐकी सर्वाकी मतलब आहे, व राजेश्री पाटिलबाबू याचे मारुस की, खेव खेव, परंतु जयपुरकराच व जेतपुरकराचे पाटिलबाबूराजे व पातशाहाने फकी मुस्लीमी करावी, समारस कोज राजेश्री शिवाजी विरुद्ध आदिकरून पागलीस व अकजी दंगले व पुणे व दिल्लीवर बगैरे मुस्लीमी हे सर्व नासा फकत, कोणाचीहि विचारात नार्ही, खेव दावपाने व सर्वानुसार आचरण वरून आहेत, याचे कारण हेच की, मूळ पसोले आपल्यांनी ओ कागार करणे हो केला, पुढेहि लुह पसोलेन करिताव, कोणाची सहा मरल्ल पसत पसत नाहीं, म्हणोन मंत्री मनोमय खिन्न आहेत, "दिलीया बंदोबस्त आपल्या हातस न आल्यास "सर्वे बडवत आपण बडव, पण तुम यांना पाय, दक्षण्याचा हिङ्गवानांत शिस् देऊ नये, ऐसी यांची मर्जी आहे " असेही गोविंदराज लिखिते !

आतां, शेवटी १७८७ आगस्ट १५ तारखेस, पाटिलबाबांनीच आपल्या या नार वर्षीच्या कारभाराचे थोडक्यांत समालोचन, अतिशयस्वार्थीक पाठविलेला एका पत्रांत केले आहे, त्यातील उतरा देऊन मी हे प्रकरण पुढे करितो, ते म्हणवत, "गोहदने ममलकीमुळ पंचांत येऊन कर्जदार जाहलें, पड पातशाहानी ममलक पडली, ऐसेच पातशाहाने आपलेकडे घेत असलां, वमल वरून आऊन, ममलानी

परिपत्य करून पानशाहाचा वंदोबस्त केला. मारे दवलतीचा खर्च त्याचा घालून, आपले फौजेसहि सांमलून, राजगजवाडे यांचीं परिपत्य केलीं. त्यामुळे, इंदोरा वंगरे सर्वीस असह्य जाहले. पुढे जयपूरचे मसल्लीस दोन वर्षे लागलीं. त्यांत मारेचे फिरुरामुळे लढाई फत्ते केलेली, विलग जाहले. याककृतितां गांधारें दऊन, कुटुंब स्वाह्नेरीस पाठवून दिले. पुढे जमावकरून रांगड्यांचे परिपत्य करावें हाच ठरावा. परंतु फौजेखेरीज होत नाहीं. याविषयीं देशाहून फौज आणविली, त्यास जेवज रवाना करावा तर ओढीचा प्रसंग, दोन वर्षे या मुलखांत आपत पजेन्याची आहली. त्याकृतितां मुलकाचा पेसा आला नाहीं. सावकारास जेवजाकृतितां म्हणावें तर, सावकार, लववार या समयाम करीत नाहींत. पातशाहींत आमचा पाय शिरवला, त्याज कृतितां वजीर वंगरे रांगडे व इंदोज मारे एकच जाहले आहेत. तुम्हांकडे व जेवजाची सगवरा व फौज व पेंढारी यांची तरतुद लौकर व्हावी. पूवापार पडिलां वटिलांम मसल्ली पडल्या, तेव्हां परंपरें साहित्य जाहले आहे. फौजेविषयीं न जेवजाकृतितां देशीं कारभारी यांस लिडिले आहे. त्यांजवळून सानित्य होणे, येण व येईल. परंतु तूं तुम्हां जेवजाची व फौजेची ग्वानगी लौकर करावी.” तथापि कारमायांची मदन पुण्यावळून येऊन पोहोचण्यापूर्वी आपण पुन्हा थडी बसविली पाहिजे अशी त्यांची महत्वाकांक्षा होती व त्यांनीं अखेर त्याप्रमाणें करूनहि दाखविलें, हे येथें सांगितलें पाहिजे.

या हकीकतीवरून पाटिलबाबांच्या स्वभावांतील एक दोन विदेश गोष्टी लक्षांत घेण्याजोग्या आहेत. पहिली ही की, ते अत्यंत आग्रही क्रिबद्धना हठी स्वभावाचे होते. स्वाह्नेरचा किला घेतल्यापासून जैपूरकरांशीं युद्ध होतपर्यंत प्रत्येक ठिकाणा, केवडीहि हानी झाली तरी आपलेंच मत ते चालवीत असत. यामुळे अत्यंत उमेदीने म्हणून जी खात्री त्यांनीं हातीं घेतली, तिच्या पार्या चार वर्षांनीं, ते अतीशय निराशाजनक परिस्थितींत जाऊन पडले. पण पाटिलबाबांची थोडवी हीच की, ते या ही परिस्थितींत विलकुल झगले नाहीं. यांतून देखील थोड्याच दिवसांत मी आपले हाके वर काढून दाखवितों असे सांगून, त्यांनीं डिमांड वंगरे माटोझी मेना-पतींना धीर दिला आणि त्या बोलण्याप्रमाणें अखेरीस करून दाखविलें. दुसऱ्याही व निश्रयी माणसांत अंतर हेच की, चालता काळ असेपर्यंत, एक आपला हट्ट चालविणो व आपली इमारत हांसवून लगली म्हणजे लोकांना दोष देत किंवा हताश होऊन स्वस्थ बसतो. पण, दुसरा पटल्या बाजांत दखील, दशाप्रमाणेच अपयशाची

जबाबदारी आपल्या शिरावर घेऊन विघडलेली वटी बसविण्यास मोठ्या असाढाईने
 अटतो. तेव्हा पाटिलवावांचा हा जो एक दोष होता, तो बहुतेक मरि व कर्तबगार
 माणसांत असल्यामुळे निरस्करणीय नसून कौतुकास्पद होता एवढे मला सांगायचे
 आहे. अशा माणसांना जो आश्चर्यकारक आत्मविश्वास असतो, तो त्यांना कोणतेही
 पाऊल निश्चयाने टाकण्यास लावतो. यामुळे त्यांच्या घोरणांत चालढकल किंवा लंचे-
 पेनेपणा कोठेही नसतो. अर्थात अपयश आले तरी ते शहाणे बनतात, व गृहाणू
 धरण्यांत जी थोडीशी चूक झालेली असते ती ते गृहधारनात आणि आपले तासं शिस्त
 प्रदर्शित करतात. तथापि, हा भाग उत्तराधिकांनी असल्यामुळे तन मला येथेच थांबणे
 प्राप्त आहे..... ”

The following extracts from the same article will point out how there existed in 1787 a “*गळार मदीं*” (chaotic confusion) in the provinces about Delhi. The “*Khechiwada*” troubles and the scuffle with the Rajputs are matters about which there is always a possibility of difference of opinion. The critics must agree to differ on such knotty points. At least there is no doubt about one point, *viz.*, that the policy of a conciliatory and friendly spirit which Bajji Rao I pursued in his relations with the Rajputs generally was not strictly followed or attended to by the Maratha Generals in 1787. It is true that the circumstances at that time were quite different from those in 1733 :—

“या वेळेचे वर्णन करतांना, १७८७ सप्टेंबर ४ तारखेच्या पत्रांत, गोविंदराव पुरुषोत्तम लिहिताः—“ पाणिपतापासून आगरियापावेतों सुलूब होता, तो दरोबरून ठाणीं उडोन पळत गेलीं. अश्या सुलूबांत मराठा दृष्टीस न पडावा, ऐसी बरभामल्ली जाली. राजश्री पाटिलवावांनीं आपलीं कुटुंबे व तोकबाना व नौबतखाना वस्तमात्र सर्व ग्वाळरौस वाटे लाविरी. त्याजवरून जिववी हिंदुस्थानी फौज कंपनी. ते दिगसा होऊन त्याजपासून उडोन दिल्लीस आली. कांहीं थोडे बहुत लोक राहिले

आहेत. त्यास तमाम जखांजील महाल व अंगवेंदीतील लाऊन दिलें. जस मुलू व मेळविला होता, तेंमाच गमाविला ! कांदी राहिला आहे, तो ज्या अवस्थेचा हात पोहोचला, त्यानें जपू केला. याप्रमाणें चतूकडे गळार गर्दी जाहली आहे.”

“हिंदुस्थानचे मसलतीचा प्रकार, एकरोखे मसलत करावी, चोदोंकडे मसलतीवर लांब फौजा फांकल्या म्हणजे समयास सारी फौज जवळ असत नाहीं, व हिंदुस्थानचे फौजेवर केवळ विश्रामू नये.” असें नानांनीं राधोबळाळमार्फत सांगून पाठविले होते. त्यांचे उत्तर पाठीलवावांनीं असें दिले कीं, “प्रसंग पडल्यास मागे पुढें पाहनां येव नाहीं. येथील लबाडी केली, तेन्हां त्यांचे पापत्य करणे प्राप्त जालें; न करावे तर नशा जातो, व दुसरेहि लबाडी करूं लागतील. यास्तव त्यांचे पारपत्य करणे प्राप्त जावेल, व तुम्हेंलें यांचे घरांत कलह प्राप्त जाहलें, तेन्हां त्यांचा बंदोबस्त करायचा फौज पाठवणे पडेली व सिकाच्या तोंडावर फौज पाठवणे आली. जे कारणें तें प्रसंग पडताना कारणें लागेल. हिंदुस्थानी फौज हजरतापडील नाकर, न ठेविल्यास दुसरी कडे जाऊन, नाकरीस राहून, किंवा फायदा वरून बरेचदा रू लागतील व हजरतासहि बरे वाटणार नाहीं. यास्तव फौज व पलटणे सदां ठेवणे प्राप्त जाली.”

“जवारी, पाठीलवावांच्या एकल्याच्या हातून दिल्या कारभार आटणार नाहीं, असा पेशव्यांचा वकील गोविंदराव पुरषोत्तम याचा अभिप्राय होता. त्याच्या मते पुण्याहून अधिक मैत्र्य खाना जाले पाहिजे; कारण, “दिल्लीची पालशाहात आपले हातीं लगली आहे. या पालशाहात एक रोग विलायतेचा मात्र आहे. त्यास पन्नास हजार स्वार्ण्यास दिल्लीस राहून, अटकेचे दयाचा व काश्मीरचे सभ्याचा बंदोबस्त करून तेथील मजबूती राखल्यास, चतूकडे दाब वसन पैश्यास कांदी कमी नाहीं. मुबल्लब पैसा इष्टीस पडून मसलतीचा बंदोबस्त होईल. नाहीं तर, इंग्रजी रिकापा जाल्यावर, तो अथवा शीम वोंपही विलायतेचा सरदार येऊन दिल्लीत बसल्यास, मग आपल्यासच सारी पटेल. त्यास, जो बंदोबस्त व फौजेचें बल कारणें ते सवर करावे. नाहीं तर, राजेश्री विमाजीपंत धुळीवरील सावण करून गेलें आणि मगें नजबखान बळावला, आणि इटावा वगैरे दगेवरून अंतरवेद वजीरांत घेतली, तैसा प्रकार होऊं न पावे. तें आपण करतील.”

“पातय, आमचे व राजेश्री नानांचे भेटीस फार दिवस जाले, याजमुळे कामगयांत व परगणे कोंथी सांगितल्यास, निजान्त करण विकल्प जाले असले तरी

व्याची चिंता नाहीं. नांनांची आमची भेट जायजेपर निघोन गेली, परंतु
 ग्रामांचे मसलतीमध्ये कल्प विकल्प नसावे. कचे वतमान आमचे व्यास समजावे व
 निकटील आम्हांस समजावे. याचे कारण, निकटील मसलतीचा विचार पाहून धाड
 मसलत एखादी करावी लागते."

The reference to Nana Phadnavis is remarkable.
 How the English and the Vazier were anxious to
 have a footing in the Imperial Capital is worthy of
 notice. The history of this period deserves a careful
 study, as it is intricate, being mixed up with many
 ramifications, as well as interesting.

APPENDIX.

While reviewing the work entitled "Shiva Chhatrapati" by Mr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., of Calcutta, Mr. K. R. Sitaraman, B.A., B.L., makes the following pertinent remarks about the Maratha Episode in Indian History in the November Number of the *Indian Review*, for 1920:—

"We are perhaps not yet sufficiently removed in point of time to have reached the stage of mental detachment necessary for claiming to speak with the correct perspective of historic judgment, unclouded by political or other insidious prejudices or prepossessions, on the part really played by the Marathas in the History of India. It was towards the middle of the seventeenth century that the Maratha soldier of fortune, Shahji Bhonsle—the father of the famous Shivaji—began to play a conspicuous part in the political arena of the Deccan. He fought on the side of the two independent Mohammedan Kingdoms, Ahmednagar and Bijapur, against the Moghals, and left a band of devoted followers, together with a military fief to his son, Shivaji, who was born in 1627. How Shivaji formed a national party out of the Hindu tribes of the Deccan, how in course of time he became a terror alike to the Imperial Moghal armies of the

North and to the independent Mohammedan States of the South, how the adventurous band of freebooters organised and left by him grew up in the course of the eighteenth century into the formidable Maratha Confederacy which challenged every other power that fought for supremacy in India, and how in the end, owing to causes it were vain to speculate about, the Maratha power ceased to exist as a political entity at the beginning of the nineteenth century, are matters which historians have discussed threadbare and moralised upon."

"The history of the Marathas covers roughly a period over two centuries, commencing, we may say, from 1634 when Shahji first made his Debut on the political theatre of the Deccan, and closing with the final disappearance of the ill-fated Nana Sahib—the last relic of the Peshwas—in 1857 after the Mutiny. Whatever the impartial verdict of history may prove to be in later times when the true history of this period comes to be written, as to the intrinsic value of the Maratha contribution to Indian national evolution, there can be no doubt whatever as to the magnitude of that contribution, and the high place it will, in any event, deservedly occupy in the history of human achievements. There is probably no student of Indian history who has not felt the genuine conviction that the heroic stand of the Marathas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the last effort of Indian nationality and patriotic fervour to stem the tide of foreign domination in this land

That the effort was all but successful is not denied by anybody. Divergence of opinion there naturally is as to the causes which led to the failure of the struggle. No less an authority than Sir Alfred Lyall says as follows in his book, "Rise of the British Dominion in India:—" "On the whole there is good ground for the opinion that if at the time of the dissolution of the Moghal Empire, India had been left to herself, if the Europeans had not just then appeared in the field, the whole of Southern India and Central India would have fallen under the Maratha dominion. It was very fortunate for the English that they did not come into collision with such antagonists until their whole strength had matured : throughout the later stages of the tournament for the prize of ascendancy between England and the native powers, our most dangerous challengers were the Marathas." Even more to the point is contemporary testimony, of which it is enough to quote the following sentence from a letter of the President and Council of Madras written in October 1756 : "We look on the Morattoes (Marathas) to be more than a match for the whole (Moghal) Empire, were no European force to interfere." It is only natural in the circumstances that the glamour of the Maratha episode in Indian History should loom large before our eyes and in a way capture our imagination..... "

".....To say glibly and complacently, as English writers do, that the Military genius of the

British arms proved in the end too powerful for all other powers, Indian or European, seems to us nothing but begging the question. One fact at any rate is clear. The Marathas in the end could not rise superior to the fatal taint that ravaged and finally annihilated every purely indigenous power since the dawn of Indian History. That taint, it need hardly be pointed out, was the cancer of mutual jealousy, distrust and disunion, and utter incapacity to ignore domestic differences and combine to avert the common danger. Nothing is so specially and prominently in evidence throughout our history than the callous indifference and apathy displayed by one political entity after another in respect of the interests and safety of the country as a whole, during critical periods, and the Marathas, as we said, proved no exception to the rule. The three leading Maratha Chiefs at the beginning of the nineteenth century—Sindia, Holkar and Nagpur—were not only pitted against one another, but every one of them was up against the Peshwa as well—the nominal chief of the confederacy. In the bitter fight for supremacy, which each of them waged singly and severally against each other of them, community of interest and common danger were alike thrown to the winds. The result was a foregone conclusion. The Maratha power, as such, was torn to shreds, first by their internal strifes and dissensions, and next by the separate and piecemeal subjugation of every dismembered unit, which was reduced to individual

Nirwan by the English in the final Maratha war of 1818. After all, the combination of determining causes and events which at a particular time brings one power into ascendancy in preference to another can hardly be gauged with precision or certainty. The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome now survive only as historic memories....."

The reader will find much on this subject in my work "The Marathas and the Moghals." Those who aim at belittling the importance of the Maratha Empire will find that their attempt is neither justifiable nor based on historical evidence.

APPENDIX.

Extract from Brigg's 'Memoir.' page 249.

Here is a letter in a lighter tone and on a less irritating subject from General Brigg's old friend and comrade, Grant Duff, evidently called forth by some inquiries bearing on the biography of Nana Phadnavis, the last of the great Mahratta Statesmen, which Briggs had so long meditated, and for which he had collected ample materials. The letter is most interesting, of course, though written by the partizans of Raghunath Rao Dada, inclined to believe wild rumours about Nana Phadnis :—

“Eden by Bangf, February 28, 1854.

“MY DEAR BRIGGS.—It gives me pleasure to see the handwriting of an old friend, especially when I see it, like yours, strong and vigorous; and your letter is none the less welcome because it is full of a subject pertaining to our younger days, in which I seldom see any one who takes the slightest interest.

“I could not now lay my hand on the notes of evidence as to the matter you mention, nor do I know where I may have deposited them, but I perfectly recollect the universal opinion of the well-informed about the Poona and Satara Courts, and that no doubt was entertained among them as to the legitimacy of Madhav Rao Narayan. That the Ministers had several pregnant women carried up, to make sure

of a successor somehow, was also generally believed, and that Nana Phadnavis was afterwards much too intimate with Narayan Rao's widow; but nevertheless no one of any consequence expressed any suspicion as to the legitimacy of the child born at Poorundhar. Ballajee Pant Natu, Abba Joshee (Bajee Rao's Private Secretary), Abbajee Gonedev, all of whom you knew, had no doubt of it, and I also recollect asking Madhav Rao Rastay if he had ever heard it doubted, and his reply was a decided negative.

"I also rather think Raghunath Rao himself believed in the legitimacy of the child, and would have been quite content to have been recognized as Regent. So general was the belief, that however influential Raghoba may have been and numerous as may have been the adherents of his cause, the English could never have done more than place him temporarily in the Regency.

"Mr. Mostyn's evidence at that time was not so good as yours or mine in the 'impartial' period of our inquiries. I knew the widow of Nana, and remember being surprised at her very youthful appearance the first time I had the pleasure of being introduced to her,—I think by Ballajee Pant,—but my impressions do not lead me to recollect her as particularly intelligent. The most 'lady like' Brahman ladies I ever had occasion to converse with, were the wives of the last Peshwa and of the Pratee Nidhee. The celebrated Warunassee Bai I was obliged to send from Wace and she behaved so well when I told her how disagreeable it was for me to be obliged to tell her that the Sarkar required that she should proceed

to join. *Shree Munt.*⁽¹⁾ But so long as one is not obliged to depart from terms of personal respect, it is surprising how the better classes in India manifest a refinement and polish only known among Europeans of the highest rank, and in an advanced state of culture.

"Pray, how do you mean to publish and how do you mean to make your book go down with the public? The only advice I can offer must be in the style of that given me by the late John Murray, when I called upon him about my history of the Mahrattas;--'can't you put something of the present day into it?' Try to connect the life of Nana Phadnavees with the Golden Horn, St. Sophia and the Sultan, mix up the Peshwa's Darbar with a particular account of the reception of Messrs. Pease and Sturge by the Emperor of all the Russians."⁽²⁾ As an amusement to yourself, and a pleasure of these old friends who care about the most uninteresting history in the world, it is all very well, but I would not venture on publishing unless some bookseller would take the whole risk. If you will allow it to be published by subscription, I should be very happy to put down my name for six copies; and if I could clear up any points that may appear muddy, I would

(1) One of the Peshwa's titles, equivalent to "His Majesty."

(2) This letter was written in the early stages of the Crimean War.

do my utmost to assist; but you would be astonished, though not more than I am myself, at the total forgetfulness which comes over me about India until some person or incident recalls the subject, when it returns very vividly. Ten years ago, on one occasion in London, I was pleased to find how well Hindustani came back to me; but when I last saw you, or about that time, I was obliged to try again, and found myself positively stuck. It is thirty-one years since the days of my pilgrimage in the East ceased. In London one has every now and then opportunities and interests that revive many things that are lost in such obscurity as mine has been. When are you likely to be in town? About the end of May? I should not have been here this winter but for circumstances I could not foresee or get over but by standing fast and watching events. I do not think I shall get away before the end of May. Where are you then likely to be? Do you know anything of Mr. Elphinstone? I trust he is well. Happy he always is, as such a mind must be. I reverence Mr. Elphinstone as the most perfect of philosophers. Whatever some of us, confident in his powers, might have wished to see him undertake in public affairs, I think he was profoundly wise in never coming into an arena where art must be practised so foreign to his nature and his habits that he must have died from sheer vexation and disgust, and would probably never have been known as we knew him.

"I see our friend Pottinger is about to be relieved by Lord Harris. ⁽¹⁾ Pottinger has been a good deal thwarted in the good he wished to have accomplished; and by being tied down instead of being allowed to do as his experience prompted, the benefits he might have conferred on Madras were marred, and as a Governor he does not return to receive a triumph.

"Why will you call me 'Captain'? In 1827 I was by right regimentally a Major; but when Cleland, who saw the mistake, went to Adjutant-General (Leighton), the latter told him that he knew it, but that as Grant would never return, more good would be done to his brother-officers, if he would not insist on its being rectified, and so he meant to let it stand. When I heard this, as I intended to give up all military rank, and could not get Major's half pay without going back to India, and as it was to be of use to old friends, I made no inquiry about my promotion, and became henceforth Mr. as a far more respectable appellation than that of the fifty Militia Captains who captained me until I would not answer to the name. I afterwards learnt that by not being a Major I lost being a C. B.—a matter of no consequence to one who had retired from public life.

"Believe me, my dear Briggs,

"Yours most sincerely,

"J. C. GRANT DUFF."

(1) Right Hon'ble Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. G.C.B., was Governor of Madras from 1847 to 1852.

From the above letter of Captain Grant Duff our readers will be fully aware of the worth of Nana Phadnavis, who had received such praise even from the officers of the Bombay Council, who were supporters of Raghunath Rao and had spread many a wild rumour about Nana Phadnavis who opposed Raghoba.

APPENDIX.

We present to our readers another instance of prejudice and senseless aspersions against the Maratha Empire. We have said much about such wrong views of European writers of the type of Mr. Vincent Smith and others. The following paragraph from the "Oxford Student's History of India" is nothing but a tissue of nonsense, and without any historical basis. Mr. Vincent A. Smith says, in the "Oxford Student's History," as follows :—

"The Maratha Empire thus ended in 1818 its brief career, perishing deservedly, because it had never deserved to exist. The government of the Maratha Confederacy, whether before or after the Treaty of Bassein, was organized solely for the purposes of plunder and blackmail. It fulfilled none of the proper functions of a government, and in its latter days had not even the merit of being national. The armies defeated by Lord Lake, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Marquess of Hastings had little distinct Maratha character, being filled up with Musalmans, vagabond Europeans, and rascals of all sorts. Those armies were closely associated with the purely criminal gangs of Pindari marauders, "the refuse of the Maratha armies," as Grant Duff calls them. "The connexion was so close that the operations of the Marquess of Hastings, directed primarily against the Pindari hordes, passed almost insensibly into war with the Maratha governments, which

willingly shared in all the Pindari atrocities. The Maratha Chiefs never did any good for India, and left behind them nothing but ruin and devastation." Mr. Vincent Smith has passed a judgment on the merits of the Maratha Empire without giving authorities and reasons and consequently his judgment is worthy of being consigned to the waste paper basket. In my work entitled "The Marathas and the Mogals" I have said much in refutation of such erroneous views as are expressed in the paragraph quoted above. The Maratha Empire fulfilled the highest purpose by rescuing the Hindus from the yoke of the Mogal rule, as is admitted even by Grant Duff and Elphinstone. Mr. Justice Ranade has clearly shown in his "Introduction to the Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries" that the Civil government of the Maratha Empire was, at least, far better than that of the Mogals. Is the worth of an empire to be ascertained solely by the length of its existence? To dwell any longer on this unpleasant subject is to invest it with importance which it does not deserve. The best way to meet writers like Mr. Vincent Smith is to summarily contradict them by saying that they are wrong. When Mr. Smith adduces no reasons for condemning the Maratha Empire, we do not think there is a necessity of producing evidence to show that what he says is false and groundless. The Maratha Empire is destined and entitled to hold a high place in the pages of history in spite of writers like Mr. Smith and others.

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	3	10	16 years	18 years
	46	1	destraction	destruction
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	103	7	how	now
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	123	15	hair-apparent	heir-apparent
	125	24	past	fast
	127	17	fort Meerut	fort of Meerut
	135	15	Raja	Raja.
	140	15	off	off.
	147	24	thiegh	thigh
	151	20	divided	devoted
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	211	12	grandeloquent	grandiloquent
	212	5	however	moreover
	219	4	writing	writings
	228	5	center	centre

On page 221, line 2nd there should be a comma after
"Statesmen"

232	2	धय	धैय
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Abbreviations Explained.

B. I. S. M.	Bharat-Itihas-Sanshodhak-Mandal.
M. D. P.	Maheshwar Darbarchin Patren.
I. S.	Itihas-Sangraha.
M. I. S.	Marathyanche Itihasachin Sadhane..

Works by the same Author.

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In an appreciative and long review of the "Glimpses of the Bhagwat Gita and the Vedant Philosophy," by Mr. M. W. Burway, the *Saraswati*, an ably conducted Magazine of Allahabad, says as follows :—

इसमें संदेह नहीं कि लेखक महोदय की पुस्तक पढ़ने में और उनकी युक्तिपूर्ण बातों पर विचार करने में, यही कहना पड़ता है कि जिस उद्देश्य में आपने इस पुस्तक की रचना की है वह सर्वथा स्तुतियोग्य है, युक्तियाँ भी आपकी तर्कसंगत हैं, बर्तनी की संमति है कि गीता का अभाव यद्यपि भक्तिमार्ग की ओर अधिक है तथापि वह यह नहीं कहती कि, उसी मार्ग में मोक्षसिद्धि होसकती है, बल्कि महाशय का कथन यथार्थ साबित होता है, मार्ग यदि वा दो - चाहे कर्मयोग हो, चाहे ज्ञानयोग हो, चाहे भक्ति हो, साधक यदि साधनों में दृढ़ है तो उसे मोक्षलाभ अवश्यही होगा, आपका यह निष्कर्ष बहुत मनोहर भी है, बौद्ध भी इस अच्छी तरह ग्रहण करती है, इस पुस्तक में गीता का समय, कृष्ण का समय, कृष्ण की रामलीला का रहस्य आदि और भी कितनेही ज्ञातव्य विषय हैं, अतएव अनेक दृष्टियों में पुस्तक पाठ योग्य है.

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In addition to these opinions from the leading papers and magazines the "Bhagwat Gita" by Mr. M. W. Burway enjoys the good opinions of eminent scholars like Mr. B. G. Tilak, the Honourable Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.A., LL.D., Member Viceregal Council, and many others. The venerable and learned Pandit Kanhere Shastri made a very favourable reference to Burway's "Bhagwat Gita" on the 28th April 1917 before a very large audience in the Shree Datta Temple, Indore City, thereby refuting the groundless remarks of Mr. V. G. Apte regarding the interpretation of the 66th Shloke of the 18th Chapter of the Bhagwat Gita.

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K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

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(Camp) State Guest House,
INDORE (C. I.),
26th April 1921.

DEAR SIR,

Please accept my best thanks for the copy of your life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar, which you were good enough to send me a few days ago. I have gone through the book with great interest and congratulate you on the latest of your many efforts to contribute to a popular appreciation of the part played in recent history by great Mahratta leaders. The name of Ahilyabai will always hold an honoured place in modern history of India and in the affectionate remembrance of her countrymen, not merely by reason of the numerous charities founded by her and carried on to this day, but for the signal proof she furnished in her person of the capacity of Indian women to rule over States and of all those virtues which we associate with all that is best in Indian womanhood.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
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